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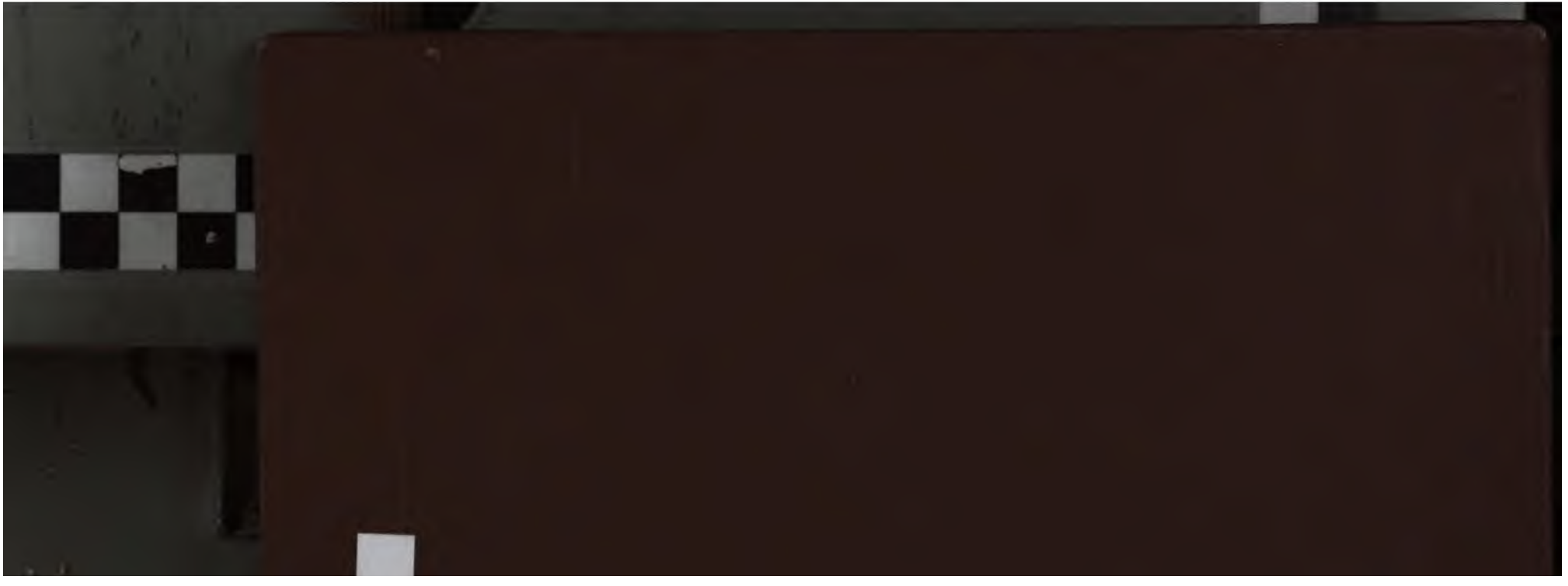
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STATE, WAR, AND NAVY DEPARTMENT BUILDING.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR DEPARTMENT

OF

THE UNITED STATES.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE SECRETARIES.

BY

L. D. INGERSOLL,
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HORACE GREELEY,"
"IOWA AND THE REBELLION," ETC.

WASHINGTON, D. C.:
FRANCIS B. MOHUN,
SUCCESSOR TO MOHUN BROTHERS.
1879.

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PREFACE.

THE main scope and design of the following work are set forth in the introductory paragraphs of the history itself. I beg only to add, in general terms, that a full and candid history of the War Department would be fairly entitled to a permanent place in American literature because of the long and successful labors of that Department in the spread of commerce and civilization. Herein, as will be seen in this history, no other agency has been so potent.

I have quite freely referred to the authorities for statements in the text, especially in all cases where treating of points still in dispute. These authorities have been of unspeakable value to me in the preparation of the work as will readily be seen by those who note their character. I am under scarcely less obligations to living authorities, — to the General of the Army; to the chiefs of the various staff departments at the Capital; to the chief clerk of the War Department, Mr. H. T. Crosby, and his assistant, Mr. John Tweedale; to the chief clerks of all the bureaux of the Department. These, with great kindness, have supplied me with pamphlets, official publications, and oral information of the greatest use.

It may be proper to add that no one except myself has had anything to do in the literary preparation of the work. No one else has been permitted to see or to revise a sentence of it. It is purely unofficial; entirely the private essay of

THE AUTHOR.

WASHINGTON CITY, *May*, 1879.

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PART I.

GENERAL NARRATIVE.

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR DEPARTMENT.

PART I.

GENERAL NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT TO THE WAR OF 1812.

INTRODUCTION — HISTORY OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT — ORGANIZATION OF THE STATE MILITIA — DISPUTE WITH THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT — THE AMERICAN NAVY FOUNDED BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT — EARLY HISTORY OF SEACOAST DEFENSES — OF THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS — OF THE MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT — THE FIRST GOVERNMENT EXPEDITION ACROSS THE CONTINENT — THE "WHISKEY INSURRECTION" — INDIAN WARS — DIFFICULTIES WITH FRANCE — DEFECTIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE STAFF DEPARTMENTS.

DURING the autumn of 1878, being in charge of the War Department Library, I received a letter from the Honorable George W. McCrary, Secretary of War, requesting me to write for publication a history of the War Department. The request was made with particular reference to the forthcoming destruction of the Department building and the transfer of the offices and archives to the new struc-

ture called "the State, War, and Navy Department Building." There were many interesting and not a few sacred associations connected with the old building, many facts also in themselves valuable, which it was thought ought to be preserved in the permanent form of a printed volume. Moreover, several of the most illustrious statesmen and warriors of our country had at different times directed the affairs of the Department, while in but very few instances had it been given in charge to men of ordinary abilities or of little reputation. It will be seen that in nearly all instances it has been placed in the control of men of high renown throughout the republic, and indeed throughout Christendom. There could, of course, be no history of the War Department without large mention of these eminent men. Biographical sketches of all the Secretaries have therefore been prepared, in the opinion that such is the best and, if I may be allowed to say so, the most interesting form in which the personal history of the Department could be presented to the public. While I ask the generous judgment of criticism and of my readers at large upon the whole work, I especially beg all, in considering the biographical portions of it, to reflect that in this style of composition considerable freedom of expression is allowable, and that upon the different individuals whose lives are here sketched, notably those still living and recently dead, there are wide differences of opinion. The judgments I express of the men who have presided over the affairs of the War Department, and of public men associated with them, may not in all instances be correct. Certainly they do not all agree with the opinions generally received

I honestly entertain my own opinions and candidly express them. As they are based upon a more complete study of the "inside history" of affairs than most persons are able to give to it, they are entitled to respect, if not to assent. These observations on the occasion and on the general character of this work may serve as an introduction to the formal narrative.

During the war of the Revolution, military administrative affairs were conducted by a Board of War, the nature of which was once or twice changed during the conflict. The Congress, by resolution, frequently directed the control of military affairs, and issued all of the general and staff commissions. After independence had been achieved, a Department of War was established, and the distinguished General Benjamin Lincoln appointed to take charge of it. He was the first American Secretary of War. Afterwards the no less distinguished General Henry Knox was Secretary. He was engaged in this public employment at the time of the establishment of the government of the United States under the Federal Constitution in 1789, and was continued in office by President Washington. It is of the Department as it has existed since the year just named that this volume will treat.

Among the earliest branches of the executive portion of the government to be organized by a law of Congress was the Department of War, which, singularly enough, received the consideration of the national legislature some weeks before the Treasury Department. The act establishing the Department

was very broad in its generalizations, providing, "That there shall be an Executive Department to be denominated the Department of War; and that there shall be a principal officer therein, to be called the Secretary for the Department of War, who shall perform and execute such duties as shall from time to time be enjoined on or intrusted to him by the President of the United States, agreeable to the Constitution, relative to military commissions, or to the land or naval forces, ships, or warlike stores of the United States, or to such other matters respecting military or naval affairs as the President of the United States shall assign to the said Department, or relative to the granting of lands to persons entitled thereto for military services rendered to the United States, or relative to Indian affairs; and, furthermore, that the said principal officer shall conduct the business of the said Department in such manner as the President of the United States shall from time to time order or instruct." The act further provided that the Secretary should "forthwith after his appointment be entitled to have the custody and charge of all records, books, and papers in the office of Secretary for the Department of War heretofore established by the United States in Congress assembled."[1] That is to say, in the Congress of the old Confederation.

It will appear from the foregoing that upon its organization ninety years ago, the Department of War had assigned to it the control of: 1. All military commissions; 2. The land and naval forces, ships, and warlike stores of the government; 3. All mat-

[1] Act of Aug. 9, 1789. U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 49.

ters, generally, pertaining to military and naval affairs; 4. The distribution of "bounty lands" to all soldiers and ex-soldiers entitled thereto; 5. Indian affairs; 6. And, generally, all such duties connected with these various affairs as might be assigned to the Department by the chief magistrate. The Department was almost equivalent, therefore, in the scope of its operations, to the three executive departments of War, the Navy, and the Interior, as now constituted in law and conducted in fact.

In about one month after the Department of War was thus instituted by law, President Washington appointed General Henry Knox Secretary, and he was promptly confirmed by the Senate. He had been Secretary at War under the government of the Articles of Confederation, and his appointment under the new government was a significant fact. Under the Confederation, the Secretary at War had been vested with large executive powers in military affairs, which, under the new government, were placed in the hands of the President as the chief executive officer of the nation and the commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy. The appointment of General Knox establishes a strong presumption that, in the opinion of President Washington, the duties and powers of the Secretary of War were to remain the same as they had been under the Confederation, except so far as they had been changed by the Constitution, or might be modified by the laws of Congress. As a matter of history the Department was conducted by Secretary Knox and his immediate successors upon this idea, and has ever since been so conducted, it being regarded, in fact and in law, as the general agent, with full powers,

of the chief executive, with respect to all administrative control of the army and of military affairs.

It thus happened that the War Department was established from the beginning of the government under the Constitution on a substantial basis, which up to the present time has been enlarged and improved, rather than radically changed. Among the subjects which early received the study and labors of Secretary Knox, was the establishment of "an uniform militia throughout the United States," that being one of the powers expressly conferred upon the general government by the Constitution. In 1789, Secretary Knox prepared a very lengthy and elaborate paper upon the subject, in which he set forth a plan establishing the militia upon the legionary system. It was regarded in many of its recommendations as too rigid in its requirements of military duty for approval by the people, and was accordingly rejected by the Congress. After much labor in the Department, and much discussion in the national legislature, a plan was agreed upon, and became law on the 8th of May, 1792.[1] The act provided that within one year from its passage the militia of the different States should be arranged into divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies, in accordance with the directions of the respective legislatures, and made other provisions for the organization of the militia upon this general plan, for instruction and drilling. The act provided that the militia should be officered by the States as follows: To each division, one major-general and two aids-de-camp, with the rank of major; to each bri-

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 271.

gade, one brigadier-general, with one brigade-inspector to serve also as brigade-major, with the rank of major; to each regiment one lieutenant-colonel commandant; to each battalion one major; to each company one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer, and one fifer or bugler. It was directed that the regimental staff should consist of one adjutant and one quartermaster with the rank of lieutenants, one paymaster, one surgeon and one surgeon's mate, one sergeant-major, one drum-major, and one fife-major.

Such, briefly, are the general outlines of the original establishment of an uniform militia throughout the United States by act of Congress. It will be seen that the military organization here provided is substantially that which has generally obtained in the infantry of the armies of the United States from about the beginning of the present century up to this time. During the war of the rebellion army corps, and definitive armies, and grand armies, were added, but they did not at all disturb their elemental organizations — the company, the battalion, the regiment, the brigade, and the division.

The machinery of organizing the militia was mainly left with the State authorities. Nevertheless, the arms were generally, or at any rate largely, supplied by the federal government through the War Department. Moreover, the Department was constantly in the receipt of letters asking for instruction and guidance, in the supplying of which it exerted large influence in the practical organization of the militia in all the States. In the original act there were not a few substantial defects in the judgment of Secretary

Knox, who preferred a far more stringent system. But some of these were cured by the action of State legislatures, so that early in President Jefferson's administration the system was pretty thoroughly organized in all the States of the Union. It remained in existence for many years, and undoubtedly did much to maintain the military spirit of the people, of which, during its entire existence, it was the handiwork rather than of the law of Congress which originated it, but without providing any penalties for its non-enforcement.

The distinguished statesman Alexander Hamilton, who was the first Secretary of the Treasury, thought that the purchase of military stores and supplies properly came under the jurisdiction of the department of which he was the head. Through his influence, Congress enacted in 1792: "That all purchases and contracts for supplying the army with provisions, clothing, supplies in the quartermaster's department, military stores, Indian goods, and all other supplies for the use of the department of war, be made by or under the direction of the treasury department."[1] This anomalous arrangement produced no practical good results. On the contrary, a main cause of the terrible failure of General St. Clair's campaign in the North-west was directly traced to the mismanagement of the Treasury Department in the matter of supplies; for practically then, as well as under the law just quoted, the Treasury Department undertook to perform these duties, so appropriately belonging to the Department of War. Notwithstanding the ill results of the anomalous system,

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 280.

Mr. Hamilton persisted in advocating it. Even three years after the disaster to St. Clair, he wrote: "The procuring of military supplies generally is, with great propriety, vested by law in the Department of the Treasury. That department, from situation, may be expected to feel a more habitual solicitude for economy than any other, and to possess more means of information respecting the best modes of obtaining supplies."[1] Both of these statements are pure assumptions, but being taken as true, the argument was considered good, and the system continued. Mr. Hamilton, however, in view of the greatness and importance of this branch of the public business, asked that a special officer be created by law to attend to it, the officer to be of the Treasury Department. This request was complied with and the office of purveyor of supplies created. Thus matters continued until 1798, when the anomaly was abolished by the act of July 16,[2] wherein it was provided that supplies and stores should be purchased under the direction of the chief officer of the Department of War. By the act of March 3, 1799, the Secretary of War was directly authorized to make such purchases.[3]

Thus ended a long dispute between two of the executive departments of the government, the claims of the Department of War in this regard being recognized as sensible and just. One happy result of this debate on the appropriate division of departmental labors was a considerable reform in the organization of the staff departments. For by the act

[1] Lett. of Dec. 2, 1794. Am. St. Papers, I., Mil. Af., 69.
[2] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 610.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 754, (Sec. 24.)

of Congress just cited there was, in substance, an organization of the quartermaster's department on correct principles, and a marked improvement in the organization of the Adjutant-General's, Inspector-General's, and Pay departments. Later, when the army came to be reduced, some of these reforms, it is true, were permitted to become obsolete; but the principles of them were henceforth recognized as correct, and were substantially applied in that complete and philosophical organization of the department which now obtains, and by means of which its vast affairs are conducted with promptness, regularity, and notable official harmony. Not by the same act, but almost at the same time that Congress thus organized and reformed the staff departments mentioned above, it organized the medical department on a very much more sensible and liberal plan than had before been adopted.[1] From the organization thus effected has the present medical department of the United States Army, whose beneficent, practical and scientific works are recognized throughout Christendom, naturally grown.

Thus it happened, as a result of the dispute between the two departments, that two important truths were established, namely: That the Department of War was entitled to manage all the public business connected with military affairs; and that the magnitude and variety of this public business demanded, for its vigorous and harmonious conduct, the establishment and permanent maintenance of various staff departments.

But it was not only the public business connected

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 721.

with military affairs, of which the Department of War in its origin had control. It was charged with the management of naval affairs also. On account of the poverty of the Treasury, and because of pressing political questions demanding the first attention of government, the establishment of a navy received little attention from the authorities for several years after the successful launching of our ship of state. The depredations of Algerine corsairs at length became so serious, atrocious in fact, that the government, poor or rich, could not in decency longer ignore the subject. Secretary Knox had constantly advocated the establishment of a navy, but, for the reasons stated, his appeals were unheeded. There being a large number of Americans held in slavery by the Algerines, the country became indignant upon the subject, and the government sympathized with the country. On March 3, 1794, President Washington sent a message to Congress communicating the facts connected with the Algerine depredations. On the 27th of the same month, an act was approved authorizing the construction or purchase of six frigates, or of such other naval force that should not be inferior to that of the six frigates, provided that no vessel should mount less than 32 guns. Of the six frigates first named in the act, four were to mount 44 guns each and two 36 each. The law had special reference to the difficulties with Algiers, and it was expressly provided therein that no further proceedings be had under the act in case peace should take place between the United States and the Regency of Algiers. "The executive was no sooner authorized

to proceed by the law," says Cooper,[1] "than measures were taken to build the vessels ordered. The provision of the first paragraph was virtually followed, and the six frigates were laid down as soon as possible. These vessels were the

Constitution,	44,	laid down at		Boston.
President,	44,	"	"	New York.
United States,	44,	"	"	Philadelphia.
Chesapeake,	38,	"	"	Portsmouth, Va.
Constellation,	38,	"	"	Baltimore.
Congress,	38,	"	"	Portsmouth, N. H."

Work proceeded vigorously on these vessels, and commanders for them were selected. They were, ranking in the order named: John Barry, Samuel Nicholson, Silas Talbot, Joshua Barney, Richard Dale, and Thomas Truxtun. Except the last, all these had served in the navy during the revolution, and Truxtun had, during the whole war, served on vessels of his own, had captured many prizes, and was distinguished as a spirited seaman. Barney declined the appointment, and Captain Sever was named in his place. Nearly all of these are the names of historic men. But these labors in the building of war vessels, and in instituting a naval command, were suddenly suspended by the signing of a treaty of peace with Algiers in November, 1795. We have seen that in such case operations under the law were to cease. Congress, however, speedily provided for the completion of three of the vessels, two forty-fours and one thirty-eight, and work upon them continued accordingly. These were the frigates of historic fame, the *United States*, the *Constitution*, and the *Constella-*

[1] Hist. of the Navy of the United States, 149.

tion. The *United States*, with poetic appropriateness, was the first vessel launched under the present organization of the American navy. She was launched July 10, 1797. The *Constellation* followed on September 7, and the *Constitution* not long afterwards.[1] Thus was founded, under the administrative supervision of the Department of War, the Navy of the United States. Thus was it at the beginning supplied with vessels and commanders who became illustrious in history and of invaluable practical benefit to the country. The primal vessels of the Navy, it has been said by a New England writer, were laid down by Secretary of War Knox, largely constructed by Secretary of War Pickering, completed and launched by Secretary of War McHenry. In April, 1798, Congress created a regular navy department, which was practically organized in the following June, when, of course, the conduct of the naval affairs by the War Department came to an end.

If the poverty of the treasury prevented the establishment of a navy immediately after the institution of the government, common prudence and a regard for the national safety demanded such means of defense against foreign attack as were within the capacity of the young nation to supply. These, believed to be at once the strongest and the cheapest, were what were called "seacoast defenses" or "harbor fortifications;" and to these the Department of War gave great attention and vast labor from the beginning. Hence have grown, in the course of time, some of the most stupendous and magnificent works of the government — the chain of forts and

[1] Cooper's Naval Hist., 150 *et seq.*

fortifications along our entire Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico, with their powerful armaments; vast extents of public highways; improvements in navigable rivers and in harbors of the oceans, the gulf, and the lakes, all of great value to the convenience and extension of our commerce, whether this be or be not the best and wisest mode of securing that convenience and extension.

In the early history of the Department works for defense against foreign aggression were confined to the principal seaports of the Atlantic coast, namely, Portland, Maine; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Salem, Marblehead, and Boston, Massachusetts; Newport, New London, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Annapolis, Norfolk, Alexandria; Ocracoke, North Carolina; Charleston and Georgetown, South Carolina; Savannah and St. Mary's, Georgia. Others were from time to time added on the Atlantic, and still others on our acquisition of Louisiana during the presidency of Mr. Jefferson, which gave us an extensive frontier on the Gulf of Mexico. Upon these fortifications there had been expended, exclusive of the amount expended for armament, up to the close of the year 1805, the sum of $943,619.56.[1] Afterwards, and especially as threatening appearances of war with England approached, these expenditures were increased. Thus for the year 1808 we find the expenditures made on these already formidable works to have been considerably more than for the whole of the above named period, being reported by the Secretary of War as follows:

[1] Report of Secretary of War Dearborn. Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 197.

For New Orleans, ...	$ 80,373
Georgia, North and South Carolina, .	204,289
Virginia and Maryland, ...	111,432
Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey,	5,000
New York, ...	379,133
Connecticut and Rhode Island, . . .	11,000
Massachusetts and New Hampshire, .	223,475
	$1,014,702[1]

In the latter part of 1811, the then Secretary of War, Mr. Eustis, made an elaborate report to a committee of Congress, on the situation of our maritime fortifications, and the number of troops necessary for their defense. According to this report, there were at that time completed, no less than twenty-four works sufficiently strong to be called forts, thirty-two enclosed batteries and works of masonry, the whole mounting about 750 heavy guns, and requiring for their defense 12,610 men.[2] Thus extensive and powerful had became our line of coastwise defenses from Passamaquoddy to New Orleans, when we were about to enter upon our second war with the greatest maritime power on the globe.

These extensive and powerful fortifications, an early source of pride to the Department of War, were the special handiwork of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army. They were commenced about the year 1794, under an act of Congress authorizing the President to fortify certain works along the seaboard, and appropriating money therefor. At this time there were no engineers in

[1] Report of Secretary of War Dearborn. Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 239.

[2] See the Report in Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 307 *et seq.*

the army to carry on these works, and the President made temporary appointments of gentlemen of foreign birth to superintend the work. Some of them had served in our Revolutionary army, and all were skilled engineers. Soon afterwards, Congress provided for raising a corps of artillerists and engineers, in organizing which a number of the persons who had been temporarily employed on the harbor defenses, were commissioned as officers in the corps, and continued their labors on the sea-coast works. This was the origin of the Corps of Engineers, whose great and varied scientific and useful works are now to be seen in all parts of the republic. A few years afterwards it was increased by an additional regiment, later by an additional battalion. On the establishment of the Military Academy at West Point, it was placed under the charge of this corps, and so remained until after the close of the war of the rebellion. Aside from the management of that institution, the principal work of the corps from its origin to the war with Great Britain was the planning and construction of our vast system of seaboard defenses. In that war it was found to be vulnerable nowhere; for though a British army effected a landing on our gulf coast, where we had been in possession only a few years, it was only to meet with the most complete and utter defeat of the whole war at the battle of New Orleans.

As has been intimated, the Military Academy at West Point was the foster-child of the Corps of Engineers from the beginning. The Academy, in its origin, was a private school. In a report of March 14, 1808, to the Secretary of War, Jonathan Williams,

Colonel of Engineers, thus dryly speaks of the origin of the Academy: "This institution was established at West Point, in the year 1801, under the direction of a private citizen, and was nothing more than a mathematical school for the few cadets that were then in service. It was soon found that the government of young military men was incompatible with the ordinary system of schools, and, consequently, this institution ran into disorder, and the teacher into contempt."[1] By the act of Congress of March 16, 1802, fixing the military peace establishment of the United States, the Corps of Engineers was authorized to be organized anew, and it was provided: "That the said corps, when so organized, shall be stationed at West Point, in the State of New York, and shall constitute a military academy; and the engineers, assistant engineers, and cadets of said corps, shall be subject at all times to do duty in such places, and on such service, as the President of the United States shall direct; that the principal engineer, and in his absence the next in rank, shall have the superintendence of the said military academy, under the direction of the President of the United States; and the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, at the public expense, and under such regulations as shall be directed by the President of the United States, to procure the necessary books, implements, and apparatus for the use and benefit of the said institution."[2]

Such was the legal establishment of the Military Academy at West Point as an institution of the United States government. Not long afterwards,

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 229.

[2] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 137, Secs. 27 and 28.

additional teachers were authorized. It is a noteworthy fact that President Jefferson, who, as a member of Washington's Cabinet, had opposed the establishment of the Academy on constitutional grounds, became its friend and advocated the enlargement of its functions. President Madison was an ardent friend of the institution. It was during his administration, and shortly before the declaration of war with England, that Congress provided: "That the military academy shall consist of the corps of engineers, and the following professors in addition to the teachers of the French language and drawing already provided, viz., one professor of natural and experimental philosophy; one professor of mathematics; one professor of the art of engineering in all its branches; each of the foregoing professors to have an assistant professor, which assistant professor shall be taken from the most prominent characters of the officers or cadets."[1] The rank and pay of these teachers were provided for by the same act, and rules laid down for the appointment of cadets and their assignment in the army after graduation. Thus was the United States Military Academy fully established by law just before the last war with England began. It was at once practically organized as directed by the law into "a regularly constituted military body, whose officers and professors are appointed, confirmed, and commissioned in the same manner and form as other army officers, and subjected to the same rules and articles of war as govern all the land forces of the United States."[2]

[1] Act of April 29, 1812. U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 720.

[2] Boynton's Hist. of West Point, 200.

It may not be improper to observe that though our first four Presidents were from the beginning, or became, friendly to the establishment of a military academy, and though all the Secretaries of War earnestly advocated the measure, yet is it true that in this particular, as well as in argument for the separate and independent nature of the Corps of Engineers, Secretary McHenry was more clear and convincing than any other head of the Department from the establishment of the government to the establishment of the institution itself.

A very noteworthy matter in the history of the Department for the period now under review was the exploring expedition under Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieutenant William Clarke across the continent to the Pacific Ocean and return. There is hardly an American citizen who has not heard much and read more of the famous "Lewis and Clarke Expedition." These officers, with four sergeants, twenty-three privates, and a number of Indian interpreters, between midsummer 1803 and the autumn of 1806, traversed the continent from east to west and back again from west to east. The journey from St. Louis was made by the Missouri River in canoes to its sources and thence to the Pacific, by the Columbia River, and by similar means of conveyance. Many dangers of storms and hostile Indians and inhospitable lands and climate were overcome, and a vast deal of valuable information collected. Intelligence of the safe return of the explorers to St. Louis was received throughout the country with every manifestation of satisfaction. Congress soon took the matter up with the view of providing extra

gratuities to the officers and men of the expedition for their extraordinary labors. A committee of the House of Representatives addressed a communication to the Secretary of War upon the subject. On January 14, 1807, Secretary Dearborn replied, saying: "Agreeably to the request of the committee, I herewith transmit a list of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates who formed the party recently returned from an enterprise which they commenced and prosecuted with a degree of boldness, perseverance, judgment, and success that has rarely, if ever, occurred in this or any other country. The quantum of gratuity, either in land or money, or in both, to which such meritorious and unusual services may be entitled on the score of national justice, or on the principles of sound policy and national liberality, being principally a matter of opinion, it is with diffidence I take the liberty of proposing, for the consideration of the committee, a grant to each non-commissioned officer and private of 320 acres of land; to Lieutenant Clarke of 1000; and to Captain Lewis of 1500; with the addition of double pay to each while engaged in the enterprise."[1] In other ways the executive department of the government manifested its appreciation of both Lewis and Clarke, each of whom became Governor of a portion of the vast territory whose immense expanse and varied natural resources they had done so much to make known to the world. The expedition under Lewis and Clarke was the pioneer in a long line of topographical, railway, military, and scientific explo-

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 207.

rations under the direction of the War Department of which it will be proper to speak later.[1]

I have said nothing of the history of the Department in connection with active military affairs in the field during the period now being considered, preferring to group such matters together after setting forth the outlines of administrative organization. The wars of this period were not formidable, but the rumors of wars were many and exciting. In 1790, General Harmar commanded an expedition against the hostile Indians of the North-west. He was defeated, but not decisively. In the following year, General St. Clair undertook to chastise the savages, but met with a terrible disaster. Two years later, General Wayne invaded the Indian country, and gave the savages such severe punishment that they sued for peace and conveyed to the United States a vast extent of territory. In the following year, the famous "whiskey insurrection" occurred in Western Pennsylvania. This, though for some time threatening serious trouble to the government, and about persuading President Washington to take the field in person, was, as a movement against the United States, constantly exaggerated. The moment a considerable military force was known to be march-

[1] Lieutenant Clarke took full memoranda, almost daily, of the events of this remarkable expedition, from which Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen prepared a work in two large volumes, which was published in 1814, and had great popularity. It was afterwards published in cheaper editions and sold in large numbers. A memoir of Captain Lewis, by Thomas Jefferson, accompanied the work. It is melancholy to add that this pioneer explorer, in a fit of insanity, died by his own hand about three years after his great work.

ing on Pittsburgh, the insurrection vanished away. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, we were for some time on the verge of war with France. On the high seas there was actual war. A large provisional army was organized, and Washington himself was appointed commander-in-chief. Preparations for war were made on every hand, and very few persons supposed that the dread arbitrament could be avoided. In all of these operations against savages and insurgents, and these preparations for war against our ancient ally, the War Department, as of course, had the principal administrative labors to perform. These, in the case of the rumored war with France, were enormous, amounting to the organization, on paper, of a large army, with all the office work that that implies. Happily, the war was avoided, but the records of the War Department during this interesting period at least form an imperishable monument to the indefatigable labors of Secretary McHenry.

I have said that "happily the war was avoided." It could scarcely have been otherwise than disastrous to our country, particularly during its earlier stages. For, fourteen years later, when we entered upon the war with England, with lĕss military though more naval strength than France, we were compelled to submit to a series of humiliating defeats in battle, the stain of some of which has hardly yet been removed. Nearly every one of these defeats was due to the poor statesmanship which had failed to see the difference between a considerable standing army and a considerable military establishment, by reason of which failure the republic suddenly found itself

left naked to its enemies. Had a considerable and well-organized military establishment been in existence, the impromptu army of militia — at that time well trained and disciplined — and volunteers could have been quickly made efficient and capable of performing almost every service like veteran soldiery. I attributed this defect above to poor statesmanship. Perhaps, at that time, the poverty of the treasury may both more charitably and more justly account for it. But, however this may be, every one will perceive, upon a moment's reflection, that whether the army for the time being be composed of one hundred men or of one million, the staff departments of the national war office should at all times be sufficiently large and comprehensive to organize, equip, and put in the field, ready to fight an enemy, an army large enough to make formidable opposition to any foreign enemy, or to domestic rebellion. The smaller the standing army, the more necessity for a complete system of staff departments of thoroughly trained and scientific men. Without such a system, a nation with a small regular army is simply guilty of the folly and madness of inviting foreign aggression and domestic violence.

These general observations are called forth by the situation of our military establishment about the time of the beginning of the war with England. In a speech in Congress, in April, 1812, the distinguished George M. Troup, of Georgia, said: "The Secretary of War had to perform, besides the duties appropriately belonging to the head of the War Department, the duties of the Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, and Master of Ordnance, the business

of the Indian Department, military lands, and invalid pensions. Fortifications, arsenals, armories, magazines, and military posts, advances to contractors, and all the correspondence growing out of these various branches must have made no trifling addition to them. In the year 1808, we added 6,000 men to the establishment, more than doubling the duties at a dash. We gave no additional aid to the Department. It was in the year 1809 that General Dearborn, a man of vigorous mind, of extensive knowledge of detail, and of indefatigable industry, going out of office, declared that the business of the Department had increased beyond what the capacity of any one man could perform, and that some aid and assistance were indispensable to the public service, whoever might be his successor." In another part of the same speech Mr. Troup said: "Gentlemen who are equally opposed to war, and every preparation for war, were consistent when they object to a measure which is as necessary to the war as arms or ammunition. In the wretched, the deplorably wretched organization of the War Department, it was impossible either to begin the war or to conduct it."[1] I make these quotations as matter of history showing the situation of the organization of the War Department on the eve of war with Great Britain. It is no wonder that disaster after disaster overtook our arms, or that for a considerable period almost all the cheering intelligence the nation received came from the high seas. It is true that before the declaration of war, the organization of the quartermaster, commissary, ordnance, and pay departments was author-

[1] Annals of Congress. 12th Cong., Pt. I., 1359, 1361–62.

ized by law. But the practical organization required time, and meanwhile the republic suffered serious ills. History has been defined as philosophy teaching by example. Our early calamities in the war of 1812 were chiefly due to the want of an organized system of staff departments in the military establishment,—a system the necessity of which equally exists in peace and in war, whether the army be large or small. The Georgia statesman, in the speech from which I have quoted above, speaks of the more complete organization of the War Department as being "as necessary to the war as arms or ammunition." The figure might seem to be sufficiently strong; and yet it does not convey the whole truth. A thoroughly organized and intelligent staff department is as necessary to war as arms, ammunition, *and* armies; for it is the staff departments which supply the arms and ammunition, the military organization, the means of subsistence and of transportation, by help of which commanders are enabled to strike the enemy in battle. Battles, or series of battles, are always less or more distant in time from each other. The operations of the staff departments are ceaseless.

These vital lessons our statesmen and people had not learned when we entered upon the war with England.

CHAPTER II.

DURING THE LAST WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT DURING THE LAST WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN — THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR — THE ARMY — CERTAIN STATES REFUSE TO CALL OUT THE MILITIA — OUTLINE HISTORY OF THIS IMBROGLIO — CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR WITH GOVERNORS OF THE STATES IN DEFAULT — THE DISASTERS OF 1812 — HULL'S SURRENDER — GENERAL ARMSTRONG APPOINTED SECRETARY OF WAR — ARMY REGULATIONS OF 1813 — ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY AT THAT TIME — THE MILITARY SUCCESSES OF THE YEAR — THE BATTLE OF BLADENSBURGH — THE CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON AND BURNING OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS — RESIGNATION OF GENERAL ARMSTRONG — HIS VINDICATION — END OF THE WAR — ITS LESSONS.

ONLY a short time before the declaration of war with England, as has already been stated in general terms, several bureaux of the War Department, or staff departments of the military establishment as they may be more comprehensively described, were organized with a view to aid the army in a vigorous conduct of the impending conflict. Though some of the excellent provisions then enacted into law were not permitted to remain long after the treaty of peace, it will be in order here to speak of them in such detail as to show the general current of departmental history.

In the present state of general knowledge with respect to military affairs, it goes for the saying that three staff departments of an army are notably essential for the successful conduct of campaigns in the field. These are the ordnance, quartermaster, and subsistence departments; the first of which, accord-

ing to the rules of military science, properly supplies the army with arms and accoutrements; the second, with clothing, quarters, fuel, forage, all the means for the transportation of the army and its material; the third, as its name fully imports, with the means of subsistence, that is to say, with daily food. It will be seen, from the mere statement of the case, that without these staff departments in some degree of organization for efficient labor, an army in the field would be about as ill off as a hotel without kitchen, dining-room, or bed-chambers. By the act of March 12, 1812, Congress established a quartermaster's department, which, so far as that department itself is concerned, was in many respects well enough, and just about what it should have been. Thus, it provided for the establishment of a quartermaster's department for the army of the United States, to consist of a quartermaster-general, four deputy quartermasters, and as many assistant deputy quartermasters as, in the opinion of the President, the public service might require. The President was furthermore authorized to appoint, from the line or not at his discretion, not exceeding four additional deputy quartermasters, if in his judgment the public service should require them. The rank and pay of these officers were fairly provided for. It was also enacted: "That in addition to their duties in the field, it shall be the duty of the quartermaster-general, his deputies and assistant deputies, when thereto directed by the Secretary of War, to purchase military stores, camp equipage, and other articles requisite for the troops, and generally to procure and provide means of transport for the army, its stores, artillery, and camp equipage." Provision

was made as to responsibility for money and property, and as to the rendering of accounts to the Department of War.[1] Further on in the act, clerks, and other proper employés of a quartermaster's department — wagon-masters, forage-masters, etc. — were provided for, and by the act of the 23d of the following month,[2] a good corps of artificers was added to the department. All of which, it will be observed, made a good organization of the department. But in the act establishing the quartermaster's department, there were other provisions which in practice confounded the appropriate operations of that department with those of the ordnance and subsistence departments, with the inevitable practical result — confusion and delay. These provisions were as follows: "That there shall be a commissary-general of purchases, and as many deputy commissaries as, in the opinion of the President of the United States, the public service may require; that it shall be the duty of the commissary-general of purchases, under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of War, to conduct the procuring and providing of all arms, military stores, clothing, and, generally, all articles of supply requisite for the military service of the United States; and it shall be the duty of the deputy commissaries, when directed thereto, either by the Secretary of War, the commissary-general of purchases, or, in cases of necessity, by the commanding general, quartermaster-general, or deputy quartermasters, to purchase all such of the aforesaid

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 696, 697. [2] *Ibid.*, 710.

articles as may be requisite for the military service of the United States."[1]

Fortunately, Secretary of War Eustis persuaded Congress to perceive the importance of more independent functions for the ordnance department. An act was accordingly passed which, so far as the supply of arms and ammunition was concerned, happily prevented that confusion and delay which became so annoying, in some instances so disastrous, in the course of the war, with respect to supplies pertaining to the subsistence department. And this, to very large extent, at any rate, because there was no organized, independent subsistence department at all. The duties properly pertaining to that department went around begging, so to say, between the quartermaster's department and the nondescript department, the only name for which is "the purchasing department," whatever it might have been. Not to put too fine a point upon it, the downright practical effect of the law was about the same as if it had been a successful measure entitled "an act for the speedy enrichment of contractors and the periodical starvation of the troops of the army of the United States." Such was the unfortunate situation, by reason of the failure of Congress to provide a proper and logical system of staff departments, when our armies undertook to get ready to combat the armies of Great Britain in the field.

Comprehensively stated, the result was as follows: First, by reason of the want of a complete system of staff departments composed of officers of skill and training, our armies at the beginning of the war suf-

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 697.

fered disasters and defeats where they should have been successful. Secondly, that while the staff departments which were organized on the eve of the war sooner than might have been expected rendered invaluable service to the combatant armies, yet because of the defect of leaving unestablished a single department, vital in every well regulated military establishment — a department of subsistence — disasters and defeats continued to occur until near the close of the war, when commanders in the field practically surmounted the difficulties by taking power into their own hands, and virtually establishing independent subsistence departments in their respective commands. It is doubtful whether the war could have been successfully ended had not this been done; and it is certain that General Harrison, commanding in the North-west, would have suffered great, perhaps irreparable, disaster so late as the spring of 1814, had he not for the time-being metamorphosed himself into an uncommonly energetic commissary-general of subsistence, and in a tolerably high-handed and sublimely patriotic manner supplied his famishing army with rations. Other commanders performed similar invaluable service, to the gratification of the country and the disgust of the contractors.

Happily, the Engineer Department had for some years been organized and, in charge of the Military Academy at West Point and of many field works, had educated not a few men in the art of war. The Adjutant-General's and Inspector-General's departments, under a single head, were practically pretty well organized and able to perform efficient services,

more as the result of army orders than by virtue of any well-considered legislation.

These facts, without noting others of a similar nature, showing the imperfect, immature condition of the staff departments about the time of the beginning of the war now to come under review, of themselves, very largely account for the inefficient conduct of the war at several points, and for nearly, if not quite, all of the misfortunes of our arms during the whole conflict.

The first thoroughly vigorous measure in preparation for the impending war was the act of Congress of January 11, 1812, being entitled "an act to raise an additional military force." It provided, with very liberal provisions as to pay, bounty, and pensions, for the immediate enlistment of ten regiments of infantry, two of artillery, and one of light dragoons for the period of five years. The regular army thus provided for would have consisted, at the maximum, of 25,484 officers and men, exclusive of general, field, and staff officers. For it was provided that each infantry regiment should contain 1,800 privates, each artillery regiment 1,440 privates, and the regiment of dragoons 960 privates, each having a full quota of line and non-commissioned officers and musicians. The act also provided for two major-generals, five brigadier-generals, an adjutant-general and an inspector-general, each with the rank of brigadier-general. The law also provided for the appointment of a judge-advocate for each division of the army with the pay and emoluments of a major of infantry, and for additional pay to officers serving on courts-martial, there being herein a faint prophecy of that system

of military justice which of late years has been so distinguished a feature in the Army of the United States.[1] For the army thus authorized by law, full appropriation was made by an act of February 21 following. The "additional military establishment" thus provided for was in augmentation of the army according to the regular peace establishment of the law of 1802, and as it had been increased by the act of April 12, 1808, providing an additional force of five regiments of infantry, one of riflemen, one of artillery, and one of dragoons. These regular regiments were never, of course, full to the maximum. Thus, in 1805, the entire army consisted of 2,732 officers and men;[2] in 1807, of less than 2,500;[3] in 1809, of 2,765;[4] and on June 6, 1812, almost cotemporaneously with the declaration of war, of 6,744, exclusive of the staff.[5]

It was estimated that the army thus provided for would furnish about 38,000 men, as the regular army of the United States for the war. Large dependence was also placed upon the use of the militia of the different States of the Union, at the time quite well organized and armed, and accustomed by frequent drills and parades to military manœuvres. The system of speedily raising an army of volunteers through the machinery of the thoroughly organized

[1] The act of Congress thus providing, on paper, so strong a regular army for the war then pending, will be found in U. S. Stat. at Large, II., p. 671 *et seq.* As a matter of fact, no such regular army was in the field during the war.

[2] Report of Secretary Dearborn. Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 174 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 222–23.

[4] Report of Secretary Eustis. *Ibid.*, 249 *et seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 319–20.

staff departments of the regular military establishment coöperating with the State authorities, had not yet been invented, though before the close of the war it was put in operation in a crude and imperfect manner. It did not become a perfected "institution" until the war with Mexico, under the statesmanlike administration of the War Department by Secretary Marcy. The vital distinction between the two systems, is that volunteers are for a stated period regularly mustered into the service of the United States, and become anywhere and everywhere subject to the lawful commands of the officers of the United States army, to the articles of war, and to the army regulations, whereas the militia are not bound to serve save under their own State officers, or under the immediate command of the President himself.[1] Such claim, at any rate, as to the exemption from general discipline of the militia, was made by both Massachusetts and Connecticut during the war of 1812–15, causing great embarrassment to the government and laying the foundation for unfavorable political comment, which even yet continues to harrass the patriotic reputation of these New England States.

An act of Congress of April 10, 1812, authorized

[1] The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States.—*Const.*, Art. II., Sec. 2.

The Congress shall have power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress.—*Ibid.*, Art. I., Sec. 8.

the President "to require of the executives of the several States and Territories to take effectual measures to organize, arm, and equip, according to law, and hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning, their respective portions of one hundred thousand militia, officers included, to be apportioned by the President according to the latest militia returns."[1] In accordance with this law, the apportionment was made as follows:

New Hampshire,	3,500	Maryland,	6,000
Massachusetts,	10,000	Virginia,	12,000
Connecticut,	3,000	North Carolina,	7,000
Rhode Island,	500	South Carolina,	5,000
Vermont,	3,000	Georgia,	3,500
New York,	13,500	Kentucky,	5,500
New Jersey,	5,000	Ohio,	5,000
Pennsylvania,	14,000	Tennessee,	2,500
Delaware,	1,000	Total,	100,000[2]

In accordance with the law, and this apportionment authorized thereby, the Secretary of War proceeded, by circular of April 15, to call upon the different States for their respective quotas of militia. On June 12, he addressed the Governor of Massachusetts as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, June 12, 1812.

"SIR: I am directed by the President to request your Excellency to order into the service of the United States, on the requisition of Major-General Dearborn, such part of the quota of the militia from the State of Massachusetts, detached conformably to the act of April 10, 1812, as he may deem necessary for the defense of the sea-coast.

"I have the honor to be, etc., W. EUSTIS.

"His Excellency CALEB STRONG,
"*Governor of Massachusetts.*"

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 706.

[2] Report of Secretary of War Eustis, May 28, 1812. Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 319.

General Dearborn, on the 22d of June, made requisition for the troops, but receiving no reply addressed the Governor again on the 26th. To which on the same day the Governor made an evasive reply. On july 21st, Secretary Eustis again addressed Governor Strong on the subject, concluding his letter with this earnest passage: "The danger of invasion, which existed at the time of issuing the order of the President, increases, and I am specially directed by the President to urge the consideration to your Excellency as requiring the necessary order to be given for the immediate march of the several detachments, specified by General Dearborn, to their respective posts." To this, on August 5th, Governor Strong replied at considerable length. He said:

"SIR: I received your letter of the 21st July when at Northampton, and the next day came to Boston. The people of this State appear to be under no apprehension of an invasion; several towns, indeed, on the sea-coast, soon after the declaration of war, applied to the Governor and Council for arms and ammunition, similar to the articles of that kind which had been delivered to them by the State in the course of the last war; and, in some instances, they were supplied accordingly. But they expressed no desire that any part of the militia should be called out for their defense, and in some cases we were assured such a measure would be disagreeable to them."

He proceeds to show that there was no danger of invasion whatever, and then to argue that the requisition of General Dearborn was without warrant of law. On this point, he was sustained by a written opinion, which he transmitted to the Secretary of War, of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth, Theophilus Parsons, Samuel Sewall, and Isaac Parker. "As the militia of the sev-

eral States may be employed," said these eminent jurists, "in the service of the United States for the three specific purposes of executing the laws of the Union, of suppressing insurrections, and of repelling invasions, the opinion of the Judges is requested whether the commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States have a right to determine whether any of the exigencies aforesaid exist, so as to require them to place the militia, or any part of it, in the service of the United States, at the request of the President, to be commanded by him pursuant to acts of Congress. It is the opinion of the undersigned that this right is vested in the commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States." Judging that there was no danger of invasion, the commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts militia, Governor Strong, respectfully declined to comply with General Dearborn's requisition. In concluding his long letter to the Secretary of War, Governor Strong said: "I have thus freely expressed to you my own sentiments, and, so far as I have heard, they are the sentiments of the best informed men. I am fully disposed to afford all the aid to the measures of the national government which the Constitution requires of me; but I presume it will not be expected or desired that I shall fail in the duty which I owe to the people of this State, who have confided their interests to my care."

To the circular of the Secretary of War, the Governor of Connecticut replied as follows:

"LYME, 20th April, 1812.

"SIR: I had the honor this morning to receive your letter of the 15th inst., containing the directions of the President of the

United States for detaching three thousand of the militia of this State, agreeably to the provisions of the act of Congress of April 10th instant. The act itself has not been received, and it will be very satisfactory to me to receive a copy of it, by the next mail, from your Department. In the meantime, every preparation will be made for detaching the officers and men, agreeably to the directions already received. I have the honor, etc.,

ROGER GRISWOLD.

"The Honorable Secretary of War."

On June 12, the Secretary of War requested Governor Griswold to order into the service such part of the quota of the militia of Connecticut as General Dearborn might make requisition for, for the defense of the sea-coast. This Governor Griswold respectfully acknowledged, and added: "In obedience to which request I shall, on the requisition of General Dearborn, execute, without delay, the request of the President." A very few days afterwards, General Dearborn made requisition for five companies of militia, and Governor Griswold refused to comply with it, taking substantially the same ground as that maintained by the Judges of Massachusetts. He refused, in a word, to allow the militia of his State to be placed under the command of any other officers than their own.

The Rhode Island legislature coincided in opinion with Massachusetts and Connecticut with respect to the right of the State authorities to judge of the exigency when the militia might be called out, but the Governor did not refuse to comply with the requisition made upon him.

This question of the relative powers of the general and State governments over the militia, thus brought out into such bold relief at the beginning of the war,

was brought up in debate in Congress at its close and elicited thorough consideration. An elaborate report was made upon the subject in the latter part of February, 1815, by the military committee of the Senate, of which the distinguished and pugnacious William B. Giles was chairman. The most valuable part of this report was a lengthy paper by James Monroe, at the time Secretary of War, upon the subject, in which he directly traversed the opinion of the Massachusetts jurists, and with great, if not unanswerable power of logic maintained the supremacy of the general government in this regard. The Senate Committee adopted the views of Mr. Monroe, and I believe they have been quite generally regarded as the true exposition of the Constitution ever since. "Whilst the committee will refrain," said said Mr. Giles, "from entering into arguments to fortify the grounds taken by the Executive Government on this subject, and explained in the letter of the Secretary for the Department of War, they feel themselves impelled by a sense of justice to express a decided approbation of its conduct in supporting and preserving the Constitution of the United States against the effects of the pretensions of the State authorities aforesaid, which, after full consideration, the committee believe not warranted by the Constitution, nor deducible from any fair and just interpretation of its principles and objects. The direct and inevitable tendencies of these pretensions would be to deprive the government of the United States of powers essentially necessary to insure *the common defense*, one of the great objects committed to its charge; to introduce discordant and contradictory

counsels into the national deliberations, upon a point, too, of all others, most requiring union of thought and of action; to change the fundamental character of the Constitution itself, and thus eventually to produce its destruction by debilitating the government and rendering it incompetent to the great objects of its institution; and to substitute in its stead the dismemberment of these United States, with all the horrible consequences resulting from disunion."[1]

Difficulties of a different nature also grew out of the militia system, though some of them came of opinions with respect to the independence of the militia, not unlike those entertained by the authorities of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Thus the militia more than once refused to march into Canada, averring that the war was one of defense, not of invasion. On other occasions they were found to be unreliable in action and mutinous in spirit. The experience of the entire war of 1812 clearly demonstrated the inefficacy of the militia system as a military system. It was found to be fit only for the peaceful parade and the bloodless review.

An attentive consideration of the facts thus far stated in this chapter will make it apparent that the general ill fortune of the American arms during the years 1812 and 1813 was largely due to inadequate staff departments and to the militia system. These do not wholly, but largely, account for that ill fortune. The war was declared in the midst of a heated presidential campaign. It is not pretended

[1] For the full correspondence relating to this practical difficulty and the official documents on the interesting question which was at issue, see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 319–26, and *Ibid.* 604–23.

that in three of the New England States, and some other considerable portions of the Union, the war was popular; but those who understand the subject best will probably agree that with few individual exceptions disapproval of the war did not amount to want of patriotism. The clashing of political ideas, however, was, as we have seen, a source of grave embarrassment to the Department of War with respect to the militia, as it must also have been a source of grave concern to the administration of President Madison. Unquestionably, then, the considerable disapproval of the war by large numbers of intelligent people was the cause of many a practical difficulty in the conduct of the war. Another cause of disaster in the field must in justice be attributed to inefficient administration at the national capital. President Madison lacked the fine audacity necessary in an excellent chief executive during a period of war. The Secretary of War, though an intelligent and able man, was also lacking in two qualities preëminently demanded by the necessities of the crisis, namely, profound earnestness and the genius of organization. With an audacious President, and a Secretary of War possessing these qualities in large degree, even the immense difficulties arising from the want of staff departments, from the militia system, and from political discontent might have been overcome, and victory organized for the American cause during the year 1812, and completely consummated in the early part of the following year.

With the exception of a few unimportant affairs, the armies of the North, during the whole campaign

of 1812, everywhere suffered disheartening disaster or failure scarcely less discouraging to the country. On the 17th of June, President Madison issued a proclamation, as directed by act of Congress, announcing the declaration of war. In precisely one month, the American garrison at Fort Mackinack, Michigan, surrendered to a force of British and Indians, the American commander being ignorant of the existence of war until the demand for his surrender. Within a month from that time, General Hull, in command of the American army of the North-west surrendered Detroit and all Michigan to an allied army of British and Indians, considerably inferior in numbers to his own troops. Upon this ignominious surrender volumes have been written, very much in attempted palliation and even vindication of the act. The General was afterwards tried by court-martial on charges of cowardice and treason. On the latter he was acquitted, but convicted on the former, and sentenced to be shot to death. He was pardoned by President Madison, having been recommended to mercy by the court. The cause of General Hull's most unfortunate conduct is, perhaps, justly to be attributed to the fact that, by reason of the effects of age and of other causes tending to paralyze mental vigor, he was panic-stricken. That he was by nature and habit a brave and patriotic man, all persons familiar with his history will agree. On this most melancholy day he yielded to the influences of unreasoning panic, and committed a deed over which just men may weep, but which they can never excuse. The effect upon the country was unspeakably disheartening, and upon

the enemy correspondingly encouraging. This terrible disaster was followed by our defeat at Queenstown, on the Niagara frontier, in October, and by a melancholy fiasco under General Alexander Smyth, in the same locality, during the following month. About the time this remarkable General was issuing high-sounding manifestoes amid the very thunders of Niagara, and doing the least possible military execution, Major-General Dearborn marched with a considerable army on an expedition against Canada over against northern New York and Vermont. This expedition failed, largely because of the ill conduct of some of the militia. Nevertheless, historians have criticised General Dearborn for his conduct of this bootless expedition, averring that it might have succeeded but for his want of energy.[1]

Such was the unfortunate nature of the conduct of the war during the year 1812. On the high seas it was different, and not a few fine victories won by our navy and merchant marine on the element of England's boasted preëminence did much to encourage both the government and the people of the Union.

The ill fortune of the armies in the field caused the administration of the War Department to be quite generally and not infrequently severely criticised for inefficiency. It was in obedience to a widespread popular demand that Secretary Eustis, about the close of the year 1812, resigned the portfolio. Before the close of January, 1813, General John Armstrong, a soldier of experience, and a man of

[1] For unfavorable estimates of Gen. Dearborn, see Charles J. Ingersoll's History of the Late War with England, *passim*.

recognized abilities and energetic spirit, was placed in charge of the Department. It is doubtless true that Secretary Armstrong had more of what we call executive force than his talented, intelligent, and conscientious predecessor. Nevertheless, it is supremely probable that the military successes of the year 1813 would have been the same had Dr. Eustis remained in office, and that some of the failures of the year might not have occurred at all.

For the Army of the West, under General Harrison, was quite thoroughly organized at the beginning of the year. Detachments of this army met with various fortunes in the early part of the year, and in the autumn, at the battle of the Thames, utterly destroyed the allied army of British and Indians, wrested upper Canada from the control of the enemy, and more than recovered all that Hull had lost. So, too, General Dearborn, commanding the Army of the Centre, captured York (now Toronto) in the early spring, with an army ready for the movement when Mr. Eustis retired. In the South the hostile Creek Indians were defeated, and almost annihilated as a warlike power, in a series of engagements conducted by militia under General Coffee and General Jackson, who had in a quite independent manner raised the troops for this purpose.

These were the principal military successes of the year. It is to be observed that both as to the forces under General Harrison in the North-west and General Jackson in the South, they were substantially volunteers, raised upon the exigency of the moment, rather by the patriotism of the people and the coöperative action of State and Territorial authorities

with the commanders in the field, than by the express authority of the general government.

Later in the autumn, the enemy did considerable mischief to towns and garrisons on the Niagara frontier, but the principal military failure of the year was the expedition against Montreal. Secretary Armstrong himself planned this expedition, designing an invasion of Canada and the capture of Montreal by a coöperative movement of the Army of the Centre, General Wilkinson, and the Army of the North, General Wade Hampton. General Wilkinson marched down the St. Lawrence, and had an affair or two of some little importance, but General Hampton refused to coöperate with him, and the campaign came to nothing. But the victories of Jackson over the savages of the South, of Harrison over the savages and British in the North, and the admirable naval victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie, were sufficient to make the American cause appear much more hopeful at the end of 1813 than at the end of 1812. And this, notwithstanding the fact that though we had gained many gallant victories, we had received several sad reverses on the ocean. In his annual message in December, President Madison expressed cheerful words on the situation, both military and naval, which were but a reflection of the public feeling generally.

Having thus treated at some length of the external affairs of the War Department, it will now be appropriate to speak of its internal affairs, if I may so say. A very important official work of the Department about this time was the preparation of a complete army register and also a complete system of "Rules

and Regulations of the Army of the United States," from which we now have, as the natural outgrowth, the annual Army Register, and that important octavo volume, the "Revised Army Regulations."

The "Rules and Regulations of the Army of the United States" of which I now speak, were issued from the War Office, May 1, 1813. They laid down the rank of regiments and of officers, rules with regard to promotions, the duties of different staff departments, and, generally, such instructions and schedules as were supposed to be instructive to the army, especially with regard to army business and to matters of *technique* not found in military publications. The War Office has seldom performed a more valuable practical service to the army than in the publication of these "Rules and Regulations" of 1813, which may be described as a fair epitome of the present elaborate work known as the "Army Regulations."[1]

The "Register of the Army for 1813" was a publication of more general historical interest than the one just spoken of. It was a complete roster of all the officers of the Army of the United States, and of the volunteers mustered into the service of the United States, from major-generals to cadets and ensigns. The Register was published in December, 1813. From it we learn that "the Army of the United States" at that time consisted of the following organizations, besides the staff departments: 1. *The* regiment of light artillery; 2. Two regiments

[1] These "Rules and Regulations," promulgated under the administration of Secretary Armstrong, will be found *in extenso* in Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 425 *et seq.*

of dragoons; 3. First, second, and third regiments of light artillery; 4. Twenty-five regiments of regular infantry; 5. The Rifle regiment; 6. Fourteen regiments of one-year infantry; 7. Five regiments of infantry enlisted for "during the war;" 8. Twelve companies of "rangers;" 9. Four regiments, a battalion and a company of "United States Volunteers;" 10. Five companies of "sea fencibles." The organizations of the regular army, if full, would have supplied a force of 36,374 men, which the one-year regiments and those enlisted for "during the war" would have increased to 58,254. There were five major-generals, namely, in the order of their rank: Henry Dearborn, Thomas Pinckney, James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, Morgan Lewis, and William Henry Harrison. The brigadier-generals were: Joseph Bloomfield, James Winchester, William Hull, Thomas Flourney, T. H. Cushing, John Chandler, John P. Boyd, Thomas Parker, George Izard, W. H. Winder, D. McArthur, Lewis Cass, Benjamin Howard, D. R. Williams, Jacob Brown, L. Covington. The country was divided into nine military districts, with a brigadier-general in command of each. The Register also gives in a portion of it set apart for this purpose the lineal rank of the general and field officers, and that also of the captains. This Register shows that the following staff departments were at the time to some extent definitively organized: The Quartermaster's, the Topographical, the Adjutant-General's, the Inspector-General's, the Ordnance, the Judge-Advocate General's, the Hospital, the Purchasing, the Pay, the Engineers'. Necessity, not liberally aided by legislation, had brought this much about to-

wards a philosophical organization of a department of war.

To this consummation is in no small degree due the fact, that during the residue of the war our arms were generally successful, there being but two notable instances of failure and disaster to the army from this time forth,— the discomfiture of General Wilkinson in the north, and the battle of Bladensburgh with all of its unfortunate results. Elsewhere our arms were successful, and this notwithstanding the fact that the British were heavily reënforced in the north, the centre, and the south by considerable armies of veterans who had fought under him now known as "the Iron Duke" in the famous campaigns of the Peninsula. Still, it would be unjust to claim much for the better military organization in bringing about a general success without attributing much of it also to the somewhat slow-moving but almost invincible power of a free people. The war of 1812–15 did much to demonstrate the truth that a free government may also be a strong government; the freest nation in the world the strongest.

Though General Wilkinson was worsted in the spring of 1814 in the movement against Canada by Rouse's Point, the battle of Plattsburgh, later in the year, redeemed the campaign of the Army of the North, though it was chiefly a naval victory. On the Niagara frontier, the battles of Chippewa, Lundy's Lane, and Fort Erie, where Scott, Ripley, Brown, Wool, and Gaines were conspicuous, stirred the Americans with a fine enthusiasm. In the South, General Jackson, now a major-general of the United States army, gained notable victories over Indians

and British, at one time invading Spanish territory in pursuit of the enemy. The closing as well as the crowning victory of the war was won by this illustrious soldier and statesman in the battle of New Orleans, where, with an army composed almost exclusively of volunteers, he defeated, terribly punished, and put to rout, an army of British veterans twice as large as his own.

The most unfortunate disaster of this period of the war was that with which the history of the War Department is most intimately connected, the battle of Bladensburgh and the fall of the national capital consequent upon the defeat of the Americans. The battle was fought on the 24th of August, in view of President Madison and several members of his cabinet, Secretary of War Armstrong inclusive. The American troops were chiefly militia, and were quickly placed in ignominious rout and flight, pell-mell. Bladensburgh is but a few miles from Washington, and the British after a brief delay marched on the city. They there committed the enormous crime and blunder of burning the public buildings and destroying large amounts of private property in no manner used for purposes of war. The public buildings thus destroyed were the Capitol, the executive mansion, war, treasury, state, and navy departments. The post-office department was not destroyed. Occupying part of the present site of the post-office building, it had been constructed by a private citizen for private uses, and the British were persuaded it was private property, and hence did not order its destruction.

This vandal work of destruction was begun on the

afternoon of August 24th, and did not cease until the afternoon of the following day. The Capitol, the executive mansion, and the treasury department were fired on the 24th, the other public buildings on the 25th, the War Office about 10 o'clock in the morning of that day. The day of the battle, which was a Wednesday, had been excessively hot and sultry. Many soldiers fell dead on the march from the effects of the heat. Thursday morning was also warm, but in the afternoon there came on a storm of rain, which by dusk became a terrible and destructive tornado, unroofing houses, uprooting trees, blowing down chimneys and even whole buildings, causing large loss of life and property and general terror. It was in such a scene of terror as this, when but for the flames of the burning buildings, which were reflected in a lurid red light from the clouds, the night would have been one of darkness visible, that the British army evacuated the city and marched towards Marlboro, without the beat of a drum or the sound of a bugle. "The sun set," says an English officer of the invading army, "before the different regiments were in a condition to move. The blazing of houses, ships, and stores, the reports of exploding magazines, and the crash of falling roofs, informed them, as they proceeded, of what was going forward. The sky was brilliantly illuminated by the different conflagrations, and a dark, red light was thrown upon the road, sufficient to permit each man to view distinctly his comrade's face. The scene was striking and sublime as the burning of St. Sebastian's."

A committee of the House of Representatives, of

which the distinguished General Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was chairman, in an elaborate report upon the capture of Washington, estimated the loss by the destruction of the public buildings and property, exclusive of the Congressional Library, as follows:

The Capitol, ...	$787,163.28
The President's House, ...	334,334.00
War, treasury, state, and navy departments,	93,613.82
Loss at the navy-yard, ...	969,171.04

Making an aggregate loss of $2,184,282.14. There were many private residences and business establishments destroyed, so that the total pecuniary loss by the capture of Washington was in the neighborhood of two and a half million dollars. The destruction of the navy-yard was expressly ordered by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. William Jones, of Pennsylvania, but for which the loss of property there would probably have been much greater than it was. Admiral Cockburn was a leading spirit in the invading force, was present in Washington during its entire occupancy by the British, personally directing much of the work of destruction. He would have taken especial delight in the utter demolition of the navy-yard and everything it contained; for a more hardened buccaneer the history of piracy hardly affords.

This great disaster, while it called forth against the perpetrators of the vandal work the indignation of the American people, and the most unfavorable criticism of candid men throughout Christendom, also aroused no little clamor against the administration, and particularly against General Armstrong, Secre-

tary of War. On this account, he felt called upon to resign, and did so a few days after the occurrences which have just been related, more, however, because the President had yielded to the storm of clamor, than because he himself believed in heeding it. He wrote a letter for publication on the occasion, which is so replete with historical matter pertaining to the War Department, that I herewith quote it at length:

"*To the Editors of the Baltimore Patriot.*

"It may be due to myself, and is certainly due to others, that the reasons under which I retired from the direction of the War Department at a juncture so critical as the present, should be fully and promptly known to the public. These reasons will be found in the following brief exposition of facts:

"On the evening of the 29th ultimo, the President called at my lodgings, and stated that a case of much delicacy had occurred; that a high degree of excitement had been raised among the militia of the district; that he was himself an object of their suspicions and menaces; that an officer of that corps had given him notice that they would no longer obey any order coming through me as Secretary of War; and that in the urgency of the case, it might be prudent so far to yield to the impulse, as to permit some other person to exercise my functions in relation to the defense of the district.

"To this statement and proposition I answered substantially as follows — that I was aware of the excitement to which he alluded, that I knew its source and had marked its progress; that the present was not a moment to examine its more occult cases, objects, and agents; that it ostensibly rested on charges known to himself to be false, that it was not for me to determine how far the supposed urgency of the case made it proper for him to yield to an impulse so vile and profligate — so injurious to truth and so destructive of order; but that for myself, there was no choice; that I could never surrender a part of my legitimate authority, for the preservation of the rest — that I must exercise it wholly, or not at all; that I came into office with objects exclusively public, and that to accommodate my principles or my conduct to the humors of a

village mob, stimulated by faction and led by folly, was not the way to promote these; and that if his decision was taken in conformity to the suggestions he had made, I intreated him to accept my resignation. This he declined doing. It was an extent, he was pleased to say, to which he meant not to go; that he knew the excitement was limited, as well with regard to time as to place; that he was now, and had always been, fully sensible of the general zeal, diligence, and talent, which I had put into the discharge of my duty, and that it would give him pleasure, were I to take time to consider his proposition. I renewed the assurance of my great personal respect and my readiness to conform to his wishes on all proper occasions. I remarked, that whatever zeal, diligence, and talent I possessed, had been employed freely but firmly, and according to my best views of the public good, and that as long as they were left to be so exerted, they were at the service of my country — but that the moment they were made to bow to military usurpation or political faction, there should be an end of their public exercise. We now parted, with an understanding that I should leave Washington the following morning.

"It has been since stated to me as a fact (to which I give the most reluctant belief), that on the morning of the 29th, and before my arrival in the city, a committee of the inhabitants of Georgetown, of whom Alexander C. Hanson, Editor of the Federal Republican, was one, had waited on the President, *by deputation*, and had obtained from him a promise that I should no longer direct the military defenses of the district. On this fact, all commentary is unnecessary.

"It but remains to exhibit and to answer the several charges raised against me, and which form the groundwork of that excitement, to which the President has deemed it *prudent* to sacrifice his authority, in declining to support mine. They are as follows:

"1st. That from ill-will to the district of Columbia, and a design to remove the seat of government, I gave orders for the retreat of the army, in the affair of the 24th ult., under circumstances not making retreat necessary or proper.

"This charge has not for its support the shadow of truth. The commanding general will do me the justice to say that I gave him no such order, and that he was and is under the impression that the retreat was made earlier than I believed to be proper. To the

President, I appeal whether I did not point out the disorder and retreat of a part of the first line, and soon after the action began, and stigmatize it as base and infamous.

"2d. That in spite of the remonstrances of General Winder, and by the interposition of my authority, I had prevented him from defending the Capitol.

"This charge contains in it a total perversion of the truth. When the head of the retiring column reached the Capitol, it was halted for a moment. General Winder here took occasion to state to Mr. Monroe and myself, that he was not in condition to maintain another conflict, and that his force was broken down by fatigue and dispersion. Under this representation, we united in opinion that he should proceed to occupy the heights of Georgetown.

"3d. That I had withdrawn the covering party from the rear of Fort Washington, and had ordered Captain Dyson to blow up the fort without firing a gun.

"This charge is utterly devoid of truth. The covering party was withdrawn by an order from General Winder, and Captain Dyson's official report shows that the orders under which he acted were derived from the same source, though, no doubt, mistaken or misrepresented.

"4th. That by my orders the navy-yard had been burned.

"This, like its predecessors, is a positive falsehood. Perceiving that no order was taken for apprising Commodore Tingey of the retreat of the army, I sent Major Bell to communicate the fact, and to say that the navy-yard could no longer be covered. The Commodore was of course left to follow the suggestions of his own mind, or to obey the orders, if orders had been given, of the Navy Department.

"5th, and lastly. That means had not been taken to collect a force sufficient for the occasion.

"As the subject of this charge may very soon become one of Congressional inquiry, I shall at present make but very few remarks.

"1st. That no means within reach of the War Department had been omitted or withheld — that a separate military district, embracing the seat of government, had been created; that an officer of high rank and character had been placed in charge of it; that to him was given full authority to call for supplies and for a mili-

tia force of *fifteen thousand men;* that to this force was added the 36th regiment of the line, a battalion of the 38th, detachments of the 12th, of the artillery, and of the dragoons, the marine corps, and the crews of the flotilla, under the special command of Commodore Barney — making a total of 16,300 men.

"General Winder's official report of the engagement of the 24th ult., shows us how much of this force had been assembled, and the causes why a greater portion of it had not been got together. These will be found to have been altogether extraneous from the government, and entirely beyond its control; and

"2d. That from what is now known of the enemy's force, of the loss he sustained in the enterprise, of the marks of panic under which he retreated, etc., etc., it is obvious, that if all the troops assembled at Bladensburgh had been faithful to themselves and to their country, the enemy would have been beaten and the capital saved. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

"BALTIMORE, 3d September, 1814."[1]

Though there may be some manifestation of temper in this letter, its main averments are substantially correct, and have been vindicated by the verdict of history. Secretary of War Stanton, in accounting for certain things in the battle of Chickamauga, during the war of the rebellion, once made the strong remark that "General Rosecrans had been stampeded," emphasizing the word *stampeded.* President Madison would appear to have been in this situation at and after the battle of Bladensburgh.[2] In war, he was out of his element. To this fact is due the official sacrifice of General Armstrong as Secretary of War, one of the ablest and most energetic men with respect to all affairs pertaining to that office who ever filled it.

[1] Niles' Weekly Reg., Vol. VII., 6 and 7.

[2] "Everything demonstrated," says Charles J. Ingersoll, with caustic dryness, in his account of the battle of Bladensburgh, "that a field of battle was not Madison's theatre of action."—*Hist. of the Late War,* II., 177.

Secretary of State Monroe was designated to take Armstrong's place, and immediately did so, but without vacating his position as head of the Foreign Office. Congress assembled on the 19th of September, and at once proceeded to consider ways and means for the improvement and increase of the military establishment. On the 23d, the Senate resolved that the Committee on Military Affairs "be instructed to inquire into the state of preparations for the defense of the city of Washington, and whether any further provisions, by law, be necessary for that object." The committee, in transmitting the resolution to the War Department, inquired: "1st. What are the defects in the present military establishment? 2d. What further provisions by law are deemed necessary to remedy such defects?" In reply, Secretary Monroe, on October 17, submitted a lengthy report, of which the following were the main propositions:

1. That the existing military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men, be preserved and made complete, and that the most efficient means authorized by the Constitution, and consistent with the equal rights of our fellow-citizens, be adopted to fill the ranks and with the least possible delay.

2. That a permanent force, consisting of not less than 40,000 men, in addition to the present military establishment, be raised for the defense of our cities and frontiers, under an engagement by the Executive with each corps that it shall be employed in that service within certain specified limits. And that a proportional augmentation of general officers of each grade, and other staff, be provided for.

3. That the corps of engineers be enlarged.

4. That the ordnance department be amended.

In support of these propositions the Secretary adduced many arguments which may to this day be read with profit by those who would have intelligent ideas on the subject of the substantial requirements of an American military establishment. About two months later, Secretary Monroe submitted also a lengthy report on the best system of subsisting the army to the Military Committee of the House, which is only less valuable.[1]

Happily, our successes in the north, the spirited defense of Baltimore not long after the capture of Washington, and our fairly good fortune all along the lines, save at the capital, enabled our Commissioners for the negotiation of peace to conclude the Treaty of Ghent, which was signed December 24, 1814, exactly four months from the capture of Washington.[2] The treaty was speedily ratified by our government, the people welcoming the return of peace with almost universal joy. This great and happy event so changed the situation of affairs that there was no occasion for the energetic measures proposed by Mr. Monroe. On the contrary, the Department at once began to reduce the army, and Congress to devise measures for a military establishment on a peace basis.

The vindication of the general efficiency of the Department of War during the contest with Eng-

[1] For the former of these reports, see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 514 *et seq.*, and for the latter, *Ibid.*, 590 *et seq.*

[2] The American Commissioners were John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin; the British, Admiral Gambier, Henry Goulbourn, and William Adams.

land is found in the result — an honorable and a lasting peace upon the basis of the complete, the perfect independence of the United States of America, not before fully achieved nor unreservedly acknowledged. In this momentous result, a notable victory in the cause of freedom and of civilization, the War Department, and the armies thereby organized and placed in the field, played an eminent, if not the preëminent part. We have seen that the Department was beset by not a few grave obstacles and difficulties — imperfect, confused staff departments; a vicious militia system; considerable popular discontent; conflicts with State authorities; a President ill fitted for the chief magistracy in a time of war. Notwithstanding these difficulties, some of which were in their nature insurmountable, the war was upon the whole a grand success for the country, in large measure wrought by the military establishment.

Those who have read the foregoing pages will agree that the history of the War Department, as connected with the last war with England, clearly teaches these valuable lessons: First, the almost resistless strength of a free government; second, the folly and madness of a free government in not perpetually maintaining a thoroughly organized and complete military establishment for the rapid formation of armies, in all respects ready to meet hostile armies in battle. Such an establishment can be wisely and economically abolished when that happy time shall come when the people "shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." But not until then.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE LAST WAR WITH ENGLAND TO THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMY IN 1815 — REORGANIZATION OF THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT UNDER SECRETARY OF WAR JOHN C. CALHOUN — THE OPINIONS OF THAT STATESMAN ON A REQUISITE STAFF DEPARTMENT — THE ARMY REGULATIONS OF 1825 — GENERAL HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

THE war with England having terminated, as has been related, in the substantial success of the American cause, the immediate great reduction of the army became the most important labor of the Department of War. The militia and such volunteers as were in the service were speedily mustered out, but the reduction of the regular army was a task of no little difficulty, and which required considerable time and a vast amount of work to accomplish and to make the proper records of.

By an act of Congress of the 3d of March, 1815 — within two months of the battle of New Orleans — it was provided: "That the military peace establishment of the United States shall consist of such proportions of artillery, infantry, and riflemen, not exceeding in the whole ten thousand men, as the President shall judge proper, and that the corps of engineers, as at present established, be retained."[1] The act also provided for the retention of the corps

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 224.

of artillery, and the regiment of light artillery as already organized, and prescribed rules for the organization of the regiments of infantry and riflemen. It was provided that this military peace establishment should have two major-generals, four brigadier-generals, four brigade-inspectors, four brigade-quartermasters, and such number of hospital surgeons as the service might require, not exceeding five. "The brigade-inspectors," the law went on to prescribe, "shall be taken from the line; and the brigade-quartermasters, the adjutants, regimental quartermasters, and paymasters, from the subalterns of the line." To this little army of ten thousand men and the corps of engineers, the Department of War was required to reduce the military force which had just defeated the veteran armies of Great Britain, and to bring about the reduction, if circumstances would permit, within a period of two months. This great quantity of departmental labor was almost completely accomplished in the time designated.

And this was only a small part of the labors of the Department in the era of vast and varied work which followed the war with England. Liberal bounty-land grants had been provided for the soldiers, and liberal pensions also to the disabled and to the heirs of those who had died in the service. At that time all this business was under the supervision of the Secretary of War. Fortunately, the distinguished statesman, William H. Crawford, of Georgia, was at the head of the Department. So great and versatile were his intellectual powers that he may well be described as a man of genius. He also had rare executive faculties, and it hence hap-

pened that the immense labors of disbanding a large army, of organizing the new peace establishment, and of promptly conducting the business pertaining to extra pay, pensions, and bounties were smoothly and successfully conducted. From time to time, additional clerical force was added to the Department, a temporary commission for the examination and settlement of damages sustained by citizens during the war was provided, but this is about all the extra assistance allowed the Department. The illustrious Secretary inspired the officers of the staff departments, and the employés of the Department generally, with somewhat of his sublime energy, and by this genius of work accomplished a vast deal in a short time.[1]

On the 1st of January, 1816, the Department published a Register of the Army as it had been organized under the law providing for the military peace establishment already quoted. At this time the major-generals were Jacob Brown and Andrew Jackson; the brigadier-generals being Alexander Macomb, E. P. Gaines, Winfield Scott, and E. W. Ripley. The Register shows an ordnance department, medical department without any particular head, apothecary's department with an apothecary-general, pay department, purchasing department, the corps of engineers, and two judge-advocates. Daniel Parker was "adjutant and inspector-gen-

[1] Some years later, as we shall see in the biographical portion of this work, Mr. Crawford was a candidate for President. Soon after the canvass of that year he became very ill, and never afterwards fully recovered. Great workers often die of over-work, after all. Such was the case with Mr. Crawford.

eral," and Robert Butler adjutant-general. There were eight regiments of infantry, one regiment of riflemen, a regiment of light artillery, and the "corps of artillery." The Register duly notes the officers and teachers at the Military Academy.[1]

About the time of the publication of this Army Register, Secretary Crawford, in reply to an inquiry upon the subject, addressed a letter to the Military Committee of the House of Representatives on the subject of providing by law for the staff appointments. In this letter he said: "The experience of the first two campaigns of the last war, which has furnished volumes of evidence upon this subject, has incontestably established not only the expediency, but the necessity of giving to the military establishment, in time of peace, the organization which it must have to render it efficient in a state of war. It is believed also to be demonstrable, that a complete organization of the staff will contribute as much to the economy of the establishment as to its efficiency. The stationary staff of a military establishment should be substantially the same in peace as in war, without reference to the number or distribution of the troops of which it is composed." He therefore recommended the organization of the staff as follows: one adjutant- and inspector-general; one quartermaster-general; one paymaster-general; one commissary-general; one apothecary-general; with officers of proper rank in these departments for each division of the army, and also three judge-advocates. He thought no change necessary in the corps of engineers (except that it might well be increased), the corps of artillery,

[1] For this Register, see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 627 *et seq.*

or the ordnance department.[1] This letter amply demonstrates the philosophical correctness of Mr. Crawford's ideas of a military establishment for this republic.

For a considerable period near the close of Madison's administration, and for some months of the first part of President Monroe's term, George Graham, the chief clerk of the Department, was, by designation of the President under the law then in force, the acting Secretary of War. As such, he performed all the duties of the head of the Department precisely the same as if he had been regularly appointed Secretary; and I find that on several subjects of general interest, he sent quite elaborate and intelligent communications to committees of Congress in response to inquiries therefrom. Among these are a plan for the reorganization of the militia, a statement of the numerical strength of the army, letters on the then existing war with the Seminole Indians, and other papers of less note. From the statement of the numerical strength of the army just referred to, it appears that the entire number of officers and men, including all officers of the staff departments and the corps of engineers, was 10,024 on the 1st of January, 1817.[2]

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 636.

[2] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 661–62. It seems not a little singular that Mr. Graham was not appointed Secretary of War *ad interim*. I judge that he was a competent and efficient officer. On Mr. Calhoun's taking charge of the Department, Mr. Graham resigned, and I observe from the newspaper files that later he was a prominent man in the business and social circles of the capital. The office of chief clerk of the War Department is one of great labor and responsibility at all times, and there is never a year

In December of this year the distinguished John C. Calhoun took charge of the Department. One of his first official acts was the preparation of a statement for the House of Representatives showing the strength of the army, with details as to the stations of the various corps, etc. From this return it appears that the army had been reduced nearly two thousand since the commencement of the year, the number being 8,221, according to the regular returns of December 1, 1817.[1]

When Mr. Calhoun took charge of the War Department, he found raging that singular conflict of arms known as "the Seminole war," and which, though for a time brought to a close by the vigorous measures of Major-General Jackson during the year 1818, again and again broke forth, and was not finally terminated until about a quarter of a century later, after the loss of very many lives, and, it is stated by some authorities, the expenditure of nearly thirty millions of dollars. The history of the connection of the War Department with what may be designated the first Seminole war in Florida is substantially as follows:

The Seminoles were a fierce and warlike tribe, whose very name indicated their wild and roving nature. It is believed that originally they were Creek outlaws. Inhabiting the everglades of Florida, allied with many negroes who had escaped from

when he is not called upon to be the acting Secretary for weeks at a time. Considering the great variety of his labors and the intelligence demanded of him, he is the least adequately paid of all the important officials of the government.

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 669 *et seq.*

the cruel bondage of American slavery, and were scarcely less savage than their red-skin friends, they commenced a predatory warfare on the settlers of Georgia and Alabama, a year or so after the conclusion of our war with Great Britain. In their excursions of plunder and rapine, they on several occasions massacred whole families, and at length ambushed and killed a detachment of United States troops only a short time before Mr. Calhoun became Secretary of War. A troublesome difficulty in the matter was, that, having made a plundering, murdering incursion upon the settlers, the Seminoles and negroes would retire with their booty and scalps into Florida, which was at that time a province of Spain, with which kingdom we were at peace. The conduct of the War Department, herein fully representing the government, was, under these trying circumstances, strictly in accordance with the law of nations, and respectful of the rights of Spain. On October 30, 1817, acting Secretary Graham, in replying to a letter from General Gaines, commanding in the harried department, said: "These papers have been submitted to the President, and I am instructed by him to inform you that he approves of the movement of the troops from Fort Montgomery to Fort Scott. The appearance of this additional force, he flatters himself, will at least have the effect of restraining the Seminoles from committing further depredations, and perhaps of inducing them to make reparation for the murders which they have committed. Should they, however, persevere in their refusal to make such reparation, it is the wish of the President that you should not, on that account, pass the line and make

an attack upon them within the limits of Florida, until you shall have received instructions from this Department." On the 2d of December, the acting Secretary again wrote to the same officer: "The state of our negotiations with Spain, and the temper manifested by the principal European powers, make it impolitic, in the opinion of the President, to move a force at this time into the Spanish possessions for the mere purpose of chastising the Seminoles for depredations which have heretofore been committed by them."[1] On the 9th of the same month Mr. Graham again wrote to General Gaines: "Referring to the letters addressed to you from this Department on the 30th of October and 2d of December as manifesting the views of the President, I have to request that you conform to the instructions therein given. Should the Indians, however, assemble in force on the Spanish side of the line, and persevere in committing hostilities within the limits of the United States, you will, in that event, exercise a sound discretion as to the propriety of crossing the line for the purpose of attacking them and breaking up their town."[2] The depredations of the savages increasing, and they being in heavy force on the American side of the line, Secretary of War Calhoun, on December 16, wrote to General Gaines: "On the receipt of this letter, should the Seminole Indians still refuse to make reparation for their outrages and depredations on the citizens of the United States, it is the wish of the President that you consider yourself at liberty to march across the Florida line and to attack them

[1] See Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 685–86 and 687.

[2] *Ibid. id.* 688.

within its limits, should it be found necessary, unless they should shelter themselves under a Spanish post. In the last event, you will immediately notify this Department." It is a remarkable coincidence that on the very day Secretary Calhoun thus wrote to General Gaines, General Jackson, writing from Nashville to the Secretary of War, advised the same policy. "If ever the Indians find out," said Jackson, "that the territorial boundary of Spain is to be a sanctuary, their murders will be multiplied to a degree that our citizens on the southern frontier cannot bear."[1]

This vigorous policy of "carrying the war into Africa," instituted at the very beginning of his administration of the affairs of the War Department by Mr. Calhoun, was at that time perfectly justifiable, the Spanish authorities in Florida having done absolutely nothing to prevent the hostile expeditions from their territory. General Jackson, in command of the military division of the South, now took the field in person, and conducted the war to a successful issue in a vigorous manner, with which all readers of general history are acquainted. He invaded Florida, defeated the Indians, captured from the Spaniards Fort St. Marks and Pensacola, with its strong fortifications, and brought the Indians to sue for peace.

This very vigorous campaign brought General Jackson under unfavorable criticism on two accounts. First, for the violation of the law of nations in invading Florida at all, and for the somewhat high-handed manner in which he conducted his operations against the Spanish posts, and his correspondence with the Spanish authorities. Secondly, for his treatment

[1] For both letters, see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 689.

of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, two subjects of Great Britain, who were tried and executed in a somewhat summary manner, as was charged. The General was fully sustained by the government and people of the United States for his energetic measures against the Spanish posts; but with regard to the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister there has been great diversity of opinion among American statesmen and writers, who have expressed their views upon the subject.

Alexander Arbuthnot was a Scotchman engaged in trade in Florida, owning sailing vessels, and doing a large business, much of it with the Indians. He was charged: 1. With exciting and stirring up the Creek Indians to war against the United States; 2. Acting as a spy, and aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, supplying them with the means of war; 3. Exciting the Indians to murder William Hambly and Edmund Doyle. The court-martial, of which General Gaines was president, found the prisoner guilty of the first two charges, leaving out of the second charge "acting as a spy," and sentenced him to be "suspended by the neck until he be dead." Robert C. Ambrister was an Englishman, and had lately been an officer in the British colonial marines. He was charged: 1. With aiding, abetting, and comforting the enemy, supplying them with means of war; 2. Leading and commanding the Lower Creeks in carrying on war against the United States. To the first charge, Ambrister pleaded *not guilty;* to the second, *guilty* and justification. He put himself upon the mercy of the court, the same which had just tried Arbuthnot. With the exception of some portions of

the specifications, Ambrister was found guilty of both charges. The sentence was remarkable, the court saying, they "do therefore sentence the prisoner, Robert C. Ambrister, *to suffer death by being shot*, two-thirds of the court concurring therein. One of the members of the court requesting a reconsideration of his vote on the sentence, the sense of the court was taken thereon, and decided in the affirmative, when the vote was again taken, and the court sentenced the prisoner to receive fifty stripes on his bare back, and be confined with a ball and chain to hard labor for twelve calendar months." The court then adjourned *sine die*. On the following day, April 29, 1818, General Jackson issued general orders on the trials, from which I quote: "The Commanding General approves the finding and sentence of the court in the case of A. Arbuthnot, and approves the finding and first sentence of the court in the case of Robert C. Ambrister, and disapproves the reconsideration of the sentence of the honorable court in this case. The Commanding General orders that Brevet Major A. C. W. Fanning, of the corps of artillery, will have, between the hours of eight and nine o'clock, A. M., A. Arbuthnot suspended by the neck, with a rope, until he is *dead*, and Robert C. Ambrister to be shot to *death*, agreeably to the sentence of the court." Accordingly, the prisoners were promptly executed.

These proceedings were generally discussed by the people of the United States, by the members of the Cabinet, and by both houses of Congress. The military committees of both the Senate and the House of Representatives reported strongly in condemnation of General Jackson's course, but he was zeal-

ously sustained by minorities upon the ground of the great value of his services and of the troops under his command to the country, and the fact that the confessedly guilty alone had suffered. Secretary Calhoun regarded General Jackson's course in the premises as unnecessarily high-handed, as harsh, and as unjustifiable on the merits. A knowledge that such was Mr. Calhoun's opinion coming to General Jackson when he was President, was largely instrumental in causing the General's intense hatred of the great Carolinian, which continued until the very moment of the General's death.[1] There are few now who would dispute the substantial accuracy of the Secretary's opinion.

The views of Secretary Calhoun on the organization of the staff departments were essentially the same as those of his predecessor, Mr. Crawford, which were quoted near the beginning of this chapter. Mr. Calhoun at once used his influence to secure the passage of a law incorporating those views in the form of positive statute. With this object he drafted a bill which, without material alteration, became law, being the act of Congress of April 14, 1818, regulating the staff of the army.[2] By this important act, the medical, quartermaster's, and subsistence departments were organized substantially as they exist at present, and the inspector and adjutant-

[1] For the full official literature on this subject — minutes of the Court, Congressional reports, General Jackson's elaborate defense, etc. — see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 721 to 769. Consult also the different lives of Jackson, and the Life and Works of Calhoun, edited by R. K. Cralle.

[2] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 426–27.

general's department was improved. A judge-advocate was also provided for each division. Thus, for the first time was a philosophical, harmonious system of staff departments for the army of the United States adopted. It has ever since proved to be of incalculable value to the army and to the country. It has from time to time been revised and improved, but not radically changed.

During the same session of Congress in which this act was passed, the House of Representatives adopted a resolution, calling upon the Secretary of War to submit to the next session of the Congress his views upon the subject of the reduction of the army, the organization of the staff, the ration, and, in short, military administration generally. Accordingly, Mr. Calhoun prepared a report, which was submitted to Congress in the following December, in which he exhaustively treats the whole subject of an American military establishment. The document is confessedly one of the ablest of American state papers. In consideration whereof, and of the fact that it relates much valuable history of the Department, I need ask no one's pardon for here quoting it in full. The references to the documents which accompanied the report are sufficiently explained for general historical purposes in the report itself, and are left in the technical form precisely as written by Mr. Calhoun:

"DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 11, 1818.

"In compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives passed the 17th of April last, directing the Secretary of War to report, at an early period of the next session of Congress, whether any, and, if any, what reduction may be made in the military peace establishment of the United States with safety to

the public service; and whether any, and, if any, what change ought to be made in the ration established by law, and in the mode of issuing the same; and also report a system for the establishment of a commissariat for the army, I have the honor to submit the following report:

"In order to form a correct opinion on a subject involving so many particulars as the expense of our military establishment, it will be necessary to consider it under distinct and proper heads. To ascertain, then, whether any, and, if any, what reductions may be made in the expenses of our military peace establishment, I propose to consider its number, organization, pay and emoluments and administration. To the one or the other of these heads, all of its expenses may be traced; and if they are greater than they ought to be, we must search for the cause in the improper extent of the establishment, the excessive number of the officers in proportion to the men, the extravagance of the pay and emoluments, or the want of proper responsibility and economy in its administration.

"Pursuing the subject in the order in which it has been stated, the first question that offers itself for consideration is, whether our military establishment can be reduced with safety to the public service, or can its expenditures be with propriety reduced, by reducing the army itself. It is obvious that, viewed in the abstract, few questions present so wide a field for observation, or which are so well calculated to produce a great diversity of sentiment, as the one now proposed.

"Considered as an original question, it would involve in its discussion the political institutions of the country, its geographical position and character, the number and distance of our posts, and our relations with the Indian tribes and the principal European powers.

"It is conceived, however, that a satisfactory view of it may be taken without discussing topics so extensive and indefinite,

"The military establishments of 1802 and 1808 have been admitted, almost universally, to be sufficiently small. The latter, it is true, received an enlargement, from the uncertain state of our foreign relations at that time; but the former was established at a period of profound quiet (the commencement of Mr. Jefferson's administration), and was professedly reduced, with a view to economy, to the smallest number then supposed to be consistent with

the public safety. Assuming these as a standard, and comparing the present establishment (taking into comparison the increase of the country) with them, a satisfactory opinion may be formed on a subject which otherwise might admit of a great diversity of opinion.

"Our military peace establishment is limited, by the act of 1813, passed at the termination of the late war, at ten thousand men. The corps of engineers and ordnance, by that and a subsequent act, were retained as they then existed; and the President was directed to constitute the establishment of such portions of artillery, infantry, and riflemen as he might judge proper. The general orders of the 17th of May, 1815, fix the artillery at 3,200, the light artillery at 660, the infantry at 5,440, and the rifle 660 privates and matrosses. Document A exhibits a statement of the military establishment, including the general staff, as at present organized, and B exhibits a similar view of those of 1802 and 1808, by a reference to which it will appear that our military establishments, at the respective periods, taken in the order of their dates, present an aggregate of 3,323, 9,996, and 11,656. * It is obvious that the establishment of 1802, compared with the then wealth and population of the country, the number and extent of military posts, is larger in proportion than the present. To form a correct comparison, it will be necessary to compare the capacity and necessities of the country then with those of the present time.

"Since that period our population has nearly doubled, and our wealth more than doubled. We have added Louisiana to our possessions, and with it a great extent of frontier, both maritime and inland. With the extension of our frontier, and the increase of our commercial cities, our military posts and fortifications have been greatly multiplied. Document marked C exhibits the number and positions of posts in the year 1802, and document D those of the present time; by a reference to which it will be seen that at the former period we had but twenty-seven posts, the most remote of which were to the north at Mackinaw, and to the south at Fort Stoddart, on Mobile River; but now we have seventy-three, which occupy a line of frontier proportionally extended.

"On the lakes, the Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, and Red River, our posts are now, or will be shortly, extended, for the protection of our trade and the preservation of the peace of the frontiers, to Green Bay, the mouths of the St. Peter's and the

Yellowstone River, Bellepoint, and Natchitoches. Document marked E exhibits a statement of the extent of the line of our frontier, inland and maritime, with the distance of some of the most remote posts from the seat of government, drawn up by Major Long, of the topographical engineers, from the most approved maps.

"If, then, the military establishment of 1802 be assumed to be as small as was then consistent with the safety of the country, our present establishment, when we take into the comparison the prodigious increase of wealth, population, extent of territory, number and distance of military posts, cannot be pronounced extravagant; but, on the contrary, after a fair and full comparison, that of the former period must, in proportion to the necessities and capacity of the country, be admitted to be as large as the present; and on the assumption that the establishment of 1802 was as small as the public safety would then admit, a reduction of the expense of our present establishment cannot be made, with safety to the public service, by reducing the army. In coming to this conclusion, I have not overlooked the maxim that a large standing army is dangerous to the liberty of the country, and that our ultimate reliance for defense ought to be on the militia. Its most zealous advocate must, however, acknowledge that a standing army, to a limited extent, is necessary; and no good reason can be assigned why any should exist but which will equally prove that the present is not too large. To consider the present army as dangerous to our liberty partakes, it is conceived, more of timidity than wisdom. Not to insist on the character of the officers, who, as a body, are high-minded and honorable men, attached to the principles of freedom by education and reflection, what well founded apprehension can there be from an establishment distributed on so extended a frontier, with many thousand miles intervening between the extreme points occupied?

"But the danger, it may be said, is not so much from its numbers as a spirit hostile to liberty, by which it is supposed all regular armies are actuated. This observation is probably true when applied to standing armies collected into large and powerful masses; but, dispersed as ours is over so vast a surface, the danger, I conceive, is of an opposite character — that both officers and soldiers will lose their military habits and feelings, by sliding gradually into those purely civil.

"I proceed next to consider whether any reduction can be made, with propriety, by changing the organization, or by reducing the number of officers of the line or the staff in proportion to the men. It is obvious that, as the officers are much more expensive, in proportion to their numbers, than the soldiers, the pay of the army, in relation to its aggregate numbers, must be increased or diminished with the increase or diminution of the former.

"It is impossible to fix any absolute proportion between officers and men which will suit every country and every service, and the organization of different countries, and of different periods in the same country, has accordingly varied considerably.

"Our present organization, of which document marked A contains an exhibit, is probably as well or better adapted to the nature of our country and service than any other, as it seems to be the result of experience; for, by a reference to document marked B, it will be seen that it is nearly similar (with the exception of the general staff, in which the present is more extensive) to the organization of the military establishments of 1802 and 1808. It is believed that the proportion of officers of the line to the men will require no further observations.

"The staff, as organized by the act of last session, combines simplicity with efficiency, and is considered to be superior to that of the periods to which I have reference. In estimating the expenses of the army, and particularly that of the staff, the two most expensive branches of it (the engineer and ordnance departments) ought not fairly to be included. Their duties are connected with the permanent preparation and defense of the country, and have so little reference to the existing military establishment, that if the army were reduced to a single regiment, no reduction could safely be made in either of them.

"To form a correct estimate of the duties of the other branches of the staff, and, consequently, the number of officers required, we must take into consideration not only the number of troops, but, what is equally essential, the number of posts and extent of country which they occupy.

"Were our military establishment reduced one-half, it is obvious that, if the same posts continued to be occupied which now are, the same number of officers in the quartermaster's, paymaster's, medical, and adjutant- and inspector-general's departments would be required.

"To compare, then, as is sometimes done, our staff with those of European armies assembled in large bodies, is manifestly unfair. The act of last session, it is believed, has made all the reduction which ought to be attempted. It has rendered the staff efficient without making it expensive. Such a staff is not only indispensable to the efficiency of the army, but it is also necessary to a proper economy in its disbursements; and should an attempt be made at retrenchment by reducing the present number, it would, in its consequences, probably prove wasteful and extravagant.

"In fact, no part of our military organization requires more attention in peace than the general staff. It is in every service invariably the last in attaining perfection; and if neglected in peace, when there is leisure, it will be impossible, in the midst of the hurry and bustle of war, to bring it to perfection. It is in peace that it should receive a perfect organization, and that the officers should be trained to method and punctuality, so that, at the commencement of a war, instead of creating anew, nothing more should be necessary than to give to it the necessary enlargement.

"In this country particularly the staff cannot be neglected with impunity. Difficult as its operations are in actual service everywhere, it has here to encounter great and peculiar impediments, from the extent of the country, the badness and frequently the want of roads, and the sudden and unexpected calls which are often made on the militia. If it could be shown that the staff, in its present extent, was not necessary in peace, it would, with the view taken, be unwise to lop off any of its branches which would be necessary in actual service. With a defective staff, we must carry on our military operations under great disadvantages, and be exposed, particularly at the commencement of a war, to great losses, embarrassments, and disasters.

"As intimately connected with this part of the subject, it is proper to observe, that so many and so distant small posts as our service requires, not only add to the expense of the army, by rendering a more numerous staff necessary, but they increase the price of almost every article of supply, and the difficulty of enforcing a proper responsibility and economy. To an army thus situated, the expenses and losses resulting from transportation alone constitute a considerable sum. Under the best management our army must be more expensive, even were our supplies equally cheap, than European armies collected in large bodies, in

the midst of populous and wealthy communities. These observations are not made to justify an improper management, or to divert the attention of the House from so important a subject as the expense of our military establishment. They, in fact, ought to have an opposite effect; for just in the same proportion that it is liable to be expensive, ought the attention and effort of the Government be roused to confine its expenses within the most moderate limits which may be practicable.

"The next question which presents itself for consideration is, can the expenses of our military establishment be reduced, without injury to the public service, by reducing the pay and emoluments of the officers and soldiers? There is no class in the community whose compensation has advanced less since the termination of the War of the Revolution than that of the officers and soldiers of our army.

"While money has depreciated more rapidly than at any other period, and the price of all necessaries of life has advanced proportionably, their compensation has remained nearly stationary. The effects are severely felt by the subaltern officers. It requires the most rigid economy for them to subsist on their pay and emoluments. Documents marked F and G exhibit the pay and subsistence during the Revolution and as at present established; and document marked H exhibits the allowance of clothing, fuel, forage, transportation, quarters, waiters, stationery, and straw, at the termination of the Revolutionary war, and in 1802, 1815, and 1818.

"By a reference to those documents it will be seen that, under most of the heads, the variations of the different periods have been very small, and that, on a comparison of the whole, the pay of an officer is not near equal now, if allowance is made for the depreciation of money, to what it was during the Revolution. I will abstain from further remarks, as it must be obvious, from these statements, that the expense of our military establishment cannot be materially reduced, without injury to the public service, by reducing the pay and emoluments of the officers and soldiers.

"It only remains to consider, in relation to this part of the resolution of the House, whether the expense of our military establishment can be reduced by a proper attention to its administration, or by a more rigid enforcement of responsibility and economy.

"Our military establishment is doubtless susceptible of great improvement in its administration.

"The field is extensive, and the attention of the Government has not heretofore been so strongly directed towards it as its importance deserves. Here all savings are real gain, not only in a moneyed, but a moral and political point of view. An inefficient administration, without economy or responsibility, not only exhausts the public resources, but strongly tends to contaminate the moral and political principles of the officers who are charged with the disbursements of the army.

"To introduce, however, a high state of economy and responsibility in the management of a subject so extensive and complicated as our military establishment, is a task of great difficulty, and requires not only a perfect organization of the Department charged with it, but a continued energetic and judicious enforcement of the laws and regulations established for its government. The organization is the proper sphere of legislation, as the application of the laws and regulations is that of administration. The former has done all, or nearly all, that can be done. It is believed that the organization of the War Department, as well as the general staff of the army, is not susceptible of much improvement.

"The act of last session regulating the staff has not only made important savings in the expenses of the army, but has given both to the Department and the staff a much more efficient organization than they ever before had. Every department of the army charged with disbursements has now a proper head, who, under the laws and regulations, is responsible for its administration. The head of the Department is thus freed from detail, and has leisure to inspect and control the whole of the disbursements.

"Much time and reflection will be required to bring the system into complete operation, and to derive from it all the advantages which ought to be expected. The extent of the saving which may result from it can only be ascertained by time and experience; but, with an attentive and vigorous administration, it doubtless will be considerable. In war, it will be much more difficult to enforce economy and responsibility; but, with a system well organized, and with officers trained to method and punctuality, much of the waste and frauds, which would otherwise take place in war, will be prevented.

"In peace, there can be no insuperable difficulty in attaining a high degree of responsibility and economy. The mere moneyed responsibility, or that of purchases and disbursements, will be easily enforced.

"The public now sustain much greater losses in the waste and improper use of public property than in their moneyed transactions.

"In our military establishment, responsibility in the latter is well checked and not badly enforced. The accounts are rendered with considerable punctuality, and are promptly settled; and even neglect or misapplication of public funds by the disbursing officers is not often accompanied with ultimate losses, as they are under bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties. Accountability, as it regards the public property, is much more difficult, and has heretofore been much less complete. Returns of property in many cases, particularly in the medical department, have rarely been required; and even where they have been, they have not been made with punctuality. It cannot be doubted but that the public have sustained very considerable damage from this want of accountability. Every article of public property, even the smallest, ought, if possible, to be in charge of some person who should be responsible for it. It will be difficult to attain this degree of perfection; but it is hoped, by making each of the subordinate departments of the War Department liable for the property in its charge, a very considerable improvement and reduction of expenses will be made.

"On the quality of the ration, and the system of supplying and issuing it, which I propose next to consider, the health, comfort, and efficiency of the army mainly depend. Too much care cannot be bestowed on these important subjects; for, let the military system be ever so perfect in other particulars, any considerable deficiency in these must, in all great military operations, expose an army to the greatest disasters. All human efforts must, of necessity, be limited by the means of sustenance. Food sustains the immense machinery of war, and gives the impulse to all its operations; and if this essential be withdrawn, even but a few days, the whole must cease to act. No absolute standard can be fixed, as it regards either the quantity or quality of the ration. These must vary according to the habits and products of different countries.

"The great objects are, first and mainly, to sustain the health and spirits of the troops; and the next, to do it with the least possible expense.

"The system which effects these in the greatest degree is the most perfect. The ration, as established by the act of the 16th of March, 1802, experience proves to be ample in quantity, but not of the quality best calculated to secure either health or economy. It consists of eighteen ounces of bread or flour; one pound and a quarter of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork; one gill of rum, brandy, or whiskey, and at the rate of two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four pounds of soap, and one pound and a half of candles, to every hundred rations.

"The objection to it, in relation to the health of the army, is fully stated in a report of the surgeon-general to the War Department, marked I, which I would respectfully annex as a part of this report. Under this view of the subject, more need not be added, except to urge its importance, both on the score of humanity and policy.

"Our people, even the poorest, being accustomed to a plentiful mode of living, require, to preserve their health, a continuation, in a considerable degree, of the same habits of life in a camp; and sudden and great departure from it subjects them, as it is proved by experience, to great mortality. Our losses in the late and Revolutionary wars from this cause were probably much greater than from the sword.

"However well qualified for the war in other respects, in the mere capacity of bearing privations, we are inferior to most nations. An American would starve on what a Tartar would live on with comfort. In fact, barbarous and oppressed nations have, in this particular, a striking advantage, which, however, ought to be much more than compensated by the skill and resources of a free and civilized people. If, however, such a people want the skill and spirit to direct its resources to its defense, the very wealth by which it ought to defend itself becomes the motive for invasion and conquest. Besides, there is something shocking to the feelings that in a country of plenty beyond all others, in a country which ordinarily is so careful of the happiness and life of the meanest of its citizens, that its brave defenders, who are not only ready but anxious to expose their lives for the safety and glory of their country, should, through a defective system of sup-

ply, be permitted almost to starve, or to perish by the poison of unwholesome food, as has frequently been the case.

"If it could be supposed that these considerations are not sufficient to excite the most anxious care on this subject, we ought to remember that nothing adds more to the expense of our military operations, or exposes more to its disasters, than the sickness and mortality which result from defective or unwholesome supplies.

"Impressed with this view of the subject, considerable changes have been made in the ration, under the authority of the eighth section of the act regulating the staff of the army, passed at the last session of Congress. The vegetable part of the ration has been much increased.

"Twice a week a half allowance of meat, with a suitable quantity of peas or beans, is directed to be issued.

"Fresh meat has also been substituted twice a week for salted. In the southern division, bacon and kiln-dried Indian corn-meal has been, to a certain extent, substituted for pork and wheat flour. In addition, orders have been given, at all of the permanent posts where it can be done, to cultivate a sufficient supply of ordinary garden vegetables for the use of the troops; and at the posts remote from the settled parts of the country the order is extended to the cultivation of corn and to the supply of the meat part of the ration, both to avoid the expense of distant and expensive transportation and to secure at all times a supply within the posts themselves.

"In addition to these changes, I am of opinion that the spirit part of the ration, as a regular issue, ought to be dispensed with; and such appears to be the opinion of most of the officers of the army.

"It both produces and perpetuates habits of intemperance, destructive alike to the health and moral and physical energy of the soldiers. The spirits ought to be placed in depot, and be issued occasionally under the discretion of the commander.

"Thus used, its noxious effects would be avoided, and the troops, when great efforts were necessary, would, by a judicious use, derive important benefits from it.

"Molasses, beer, and cider, according to circumstances, might be used as substitutes. The substitution of bacon and kiln-dried corn-meal in the southern division will have, it is believed, valuable effects.

"They are both much more congenial to the habits of the people of that section of our country. Corn-meal has another, and, in my opinion, great and almost decisive advantage — it requires so little art to prepare it for use.

"It is not easy to make good bread of wheat flour, whilst it is almost impossible to make bad out of that of Indian corn. Besides, wheat is much more liable to be damaged than the Indian corn, for the latter is better protected against disease and the effects of bad seasons in time of harvest than any other grain; and, when injured, the good is easily separated from the bad. Experience proves it to be not less nutritious than wheat or any other grain. Parched corn constitutes the principal food of an Indian warrior, and such are its nutritious qualities that they can support long and fatiguing marches on it alone.

"I next proceed to consider the system of supplying the army with provisions, or the establishment of a commissariat; and, as they are connected in their nature, I propose to consider that part of the resolution in relation to a commissariat and the mode of issuing the rations at the same time.

"The system established at the last session will, in time of peace, be adequate to the cheap and certain supply of the army. The act provides for the appointment of a commissary-general, and as many assistants as the service may require, and authorizes the President to assign to them their duties in purchasing and issuing rations. It also directs that the ordinary supplies of the army should be made by contracts, to be made by the commissary-general, and to be delivered, on inspection, in the bulk, at such places as shall be stipulated in the contract. Document marked J contains the rules and regulations which have been established by order of the President, and presents the operations of the system in detail. It is believed that it is as well guarded against fraud as any other department of our military supplies; and, judging from the contracts already formed under it, will, when improved by experience, probably make a very considerable saving. It would improve the system to authorize the appointment of two deputy-commissaries, one for each division, with the pay, rank, and emoluments of major of infantry, to be taken from the line, or from citizens, and so to amend the act of last session as to authorize the President to appoint the assistant commissaries either from the line or citizens. When the assistant commissary is not

taken from the line, to make his pay equal to that of a subaltern appointed from the line, it ought to be fifty dollars per month, with two rations a day. It should be the duty of the deputy commissaries to perform such service as the commissary-general might prescribe, and particularly to inspect the principal depots, and, in cases of necessity, to make the necessary purchases. When a suitable subaltern cannot be had, or when the services are necessary in the line, the power proposed to be vested in the President to select from citizens would be important. It is not believed that any other alteration would be necessary in peace; but the system would require great enlargement in war, to render it sufficiently energetic to meet the many vicissitudes incidental to the operations of war.

"It would then be necessary to divide the system into two divisions, one for purchasing and the other for issuing of rations, with as many deputy commissaries of purchases and issues as there may be armies and military districts, to whom ought to be added a suitable number of assistants. The basis of the system ought in war to be the same as is now established. The ordinary supplies ought to be by contract on public proposals. By a judicious collection of provisions at proper depots, combined with an active and energetic system of transportation, it would be seldom necessary to resort to any other mode of purchasing. To provide, however, for contingencies, the purchasing department ought to be efficiently organized, and a branch of it, as already stated, attached to each army and military department.

"As it is the means to be resorted to in cases of necessity, it ought to possess those high and discretionary powers which do not admit of exact control. It is, in its nature, liable to many abuses, and to prevent them from being great, more efficient regulations and checks are required than in any other branch of the general staff.

"The defects of the mere contract system are so universally acknowledged by those who have experienced its operation in the late war, that it cannot be necessary to make many observations in relation to it. Nothing can appear more absurd than that the success of the most important military operations, on which the very fate of the country may depend, should ultimately rest on men who are subject to no military responsibility, and on whom there is no other hold than the penalty of a bond. When we add

to this observation that it is often the interest of a contractor to fail at the most critical juncture, when the means of supply become the most expensive, it seems strange that the system should have been continued for a single campaign. It may be said that, when the contractor fails, the commander has a right to purchase at his risk, by which the disasters which naturally result from a failure may be avoided.

"The observation is more specious than solid. If, on failure of the contractor, there existed a well organized system for purchasing the supplies, there would be some truth in it; but without such a system, without depots of provisions, and with the funds intended for the supply of the army perhaps in the hands of a contractor, his failure must generally be fatal to a campaign. It is believed that a well organized commissariat, whose ordinary supplies are obtained by contract founded on public notice, possesses (besides those peculiar to itself) all of the advantages fairly attributable to the system of issuing rations by contract. It is equally guarded against fraud, and its purchases can be made on terms more advantageous. A considerable objection to the system of issuing the ration by contract is, that the merchants and capitalists are deterred from bidding, by the hazard of issuing the ration; and thus the sphere of competition is contracted, and the contracts for supplying of the army often thrown into the hands of adventurers.

"This objection is avoided under the present system, by which the nation will be cheaply supplied, and the danger of failure almost wholly removed.

"All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. C. CALHOUN."[1]

It should be borne in mind, that when comparing the military establishment as provided by the law of 1815 with that of 1802 and that of 1808, Mr. Calhoun was speaking of the organization of the army as provided by law, not of its actual strength. There never was a time when the army was just full to the limit allowed by the organization. Just one month after

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 779 *et seq.*

the foregoing letter, Mr. Calhoun transmitted to the President, for the use of the Senate, a detailed statement showing the actual numerical strength of the army at that time, according to the most recent returns. The total number, embracing the entire military establishment, was 7,676 officers and men, of which number 7,270 were on actual duty at the various military posts of the seaboard and frontier. At the same time, the Secretary sent down a report giving a return of the ordnance, mounted and unmounted, at that time belonging to the United States, from which it appears there were then mounted 1,237 mortars, howitzers, and cannon of various calibre, and 1,580 pieces of unmounted ordnance.[1]

There was at this time considerable discussion in the country and debate in Congress upon the subject of the Military Academy at West Point and the establishment of an additional institution of the kind. Mr. Calhoun advocated the enlargement of the facilities of West Point for the reception and instruction of cadets, and thought that an additional academy might be desirable. Upon the general subject of military instruction he wrote several instructive and thoughtful papers. In one of these he said: "No truth is better supported by history than that, other circumstances being nearly equal, victory will be on the side of those who have the best instructed officers."[2]

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., I., 813 *et seq.*

[2] I quote this from memory, having loaned for the time the first volume of American State Papers, Military Affairs, near the close of which it will be found, substantially, if not literally, as given above. Mr. Calhoun had a fine capacity of saying a good deal in a terse sentence. The above is about as good as the famous saying of Bonaparte, that "Heaven is on the side of the strongest battalions." It is not true if the strongest battalions are ill handled.

Public discussion of the affairs of the Military Academy was greatly augmented during the year 1819 by a series of insubordinate acts on the part of a number of the cadets. Some of these were summarily ordered to their homes, and, arriving at Washington, laid their grievances before the Secretary of War. Considerable excitement in the public mind grew out of the difficulty, but it was finally adjusted by the restoration of the principal offending cadets to the Academy *pro forma*, followed by their resignation. The affair was of value in that, in response to inquiries from Congress, it procured from the War Department elaborate statements of the money that had been expended upon the Academy, a complete register of the cadets from the beginning, and other facts of value pertaining to the institution.[1]

The official labors of the War Department were doubtless as great and varied during its administration by Mr. Calhoun as at any other considerable period of its history. For some time during Mr. McHenry's charge of the Department, while we were on the verge of war with France, during the war with Great Britain, and during the two general wars since, the routine labors of the Department were greater, but not such as originate and carry out reforms and institute and perfect material changes in establishments. Mr. Calhoun was very frequently called upon by Congress for information and for his views upon a great variety of matters connected with military affairs. I have already quoted at length his elaborate

[1] For all the particulars of the difficulty referred to, the Register of Cadets, etc., see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 5–30, 51–67, 75–98.

paper on the reduction of the army. On the 12th of December, 1820, he communicated to the House of Representatives another paper on the same subject with special reference to a bill then pending, proposing the reduction of the army to 6,000 men. Taking the same general views as those before presented by him, he enforced them with new facts and illustrations, making an unanswerable argument. On a very interesting point in the question, he said:

"No position connected with the organization of the peace establishment is susceptible of being more rigidly proved, than that the proportion of its officers to the rank and file ought to be greater than in a war establishment. It results immediately from a position, the truth of which cannot be fairly doubted, and which I have attempted to illustrate in the preliminary remarks, that the leading object of a regular army in time of peace ought to be to enable the country to meet with honor and safety, particularly at the commencement of war, the dangers incident to that state. To effect this object as far as practicable, the peace organization ought, as has been shown, to be such that, in passing to a state of war, there should be nothing to new model or to create; and that the difference between that and the war organization ought to be simply in the greater magnitude of the latter. . . Economy is certainly a very high political virtue, intimately connected with the power and the public virtue of the community. In military operations, which, under the best management, are so expensive, it is of the utmost importance; but by no propriety of language can that arrangement be called economical which, in order that our military establishment in peace should be rather less expensive, would, regardless of the purposes for which it ought to be maintained, render it unfit to meet the dangers incident to a state of war."[1]

During the year 1820, the Department caused to be compiled, under the directions of Major-General

[1] For this valuable paper and the documents by which it was supported, see Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 188 *et seq.*

Scott, a revised system of Army Regulations. A system of martial law for the army was also prepared, under the supervision of Judge-Advocate Storrow. The former was adopted by Congress — the section of the law so adopting being soon repealed, however — and the latter received also the sanction of Congress, with some modifications.[1]

Early in the year 1821, the Secretary of War communicated to the House of Representatives a statement of the number of militia called into the service during the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, that is to say, during our last war with Great Britain. This statement, prepared under the supervision of Peter Hagner, Third Auditor of the Treasury, embraced detailed statistics, showing the periods of service of the militia, their pay, and from what States and Territories drawn. The aggregate number of militia thus drawn is shown by this document to have been 410,603.[2]

This valuable document was soon followed by another, under the same supervision, showing a list of all the real estate purchased by the government in the different States and Territories for military purposes. The statement gives the consideration and other facts.[3]

The labors of the Department were temporarily augmented by the reduction of the army required by the act of Congress of March 2, 1821. This law provided that from and after the first of the following June, the military peace establishment of the United

[1] This edition of Army Regulations and system of martial law will be found in full Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 199–274.

[2] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 279 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 282 *et seq.*

States should be composed of four regiments of artillery, seven of infantry, and certain officers of engineers, of ordnance, and of the staff; that the corps of engineers and the topographical engineers be retained; for one major-general and two brigadier-generals; for one adjutant-general and two inspectors-general; for one quartermaster-general, two quartermasters, and ten assistant quartermasters; for one commissary-general of subsistence and as many "assistant commissaries" as the service might require, not exceeding fifty, to be taken from the subalterns of the line; for one paymaster-general and fourteen paymasters; for one surgeon-general, eight surgeons, and forty-five assistant surgeons; for one commissary of purchases and two military storekeepers, "to be attached to the purchasing department." The act also had this section: "That the ordnance department shall be merged in the artillery; and the President is hereby authorized to select from the regiments of artillery, such officers as may be necessary to perform ordnance duties, who, while so detached, shall receive the pay and emoluments now received by ordnance officers, and shall be subject only to the orders of the War Department; and that the number of enlisted men in the ordnance department be reduced to fifty-six."[1]

With the exception of this merging of the ordnance department in the artillery — which experience proved to be unwise — the appropriate staff departments of the establishment were retained, with one in excess of philosophical requirement, namely, "the

[1] For this act of Congress in full, see U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 615–16.

purchasing department." This always was a source of annoyance to the army, and of dispute between other staff departments.

The delicate duties of reducing the military establishment it would have been impossible to perform, without no little pain to the President and the head of the War Department, and disappointment and heart-burnings to officers discharged, "razed," and transferred. In the early part of 1822, the Military Committee of the House of Representatives investigated this subject, and fully sustained the action of the President, which herein was the action of the War Department. "While the committee," said the report, "pay this just respect to officers retained in service, they wish not to detract from the merits of the many valuable officers who have been left out of the army or reduced in rank." Which was precisely the feeling of those who were called upon to do the practical work of reorganization. There was, of course, considerable discussion in the executive sessions of the Senate upon the nominations of the officers sent down for confirmation, some of whom were rejected, but without any feeling of ill will against the administration.[1]

The organization of the military establishment having been executed according to the requirements of the law of Congress, the army remained essentially the same in force down to the time of the Mexican war, the average strength in actual service being a little over five thousand, officers and enlisted men. The establishment of the staff departments

[1] See the House Report, Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 379–80, and proceedings in the Senate, *Ibid.*, 395–414.

on the plan of independent bureaux, each responsible for the performance of its especial lines of duty, and all constantly reporting to the administrative head of the Department, was a notable success from the beginning, fully justifying the bright anticipations of Secretary Calhoun. In several reports to committees of Congress, he demonstrated the practical efficiency and economy of the system.

Early in 1825 an edition of Army Regulations was published, being much the most complete and comprehensive of any which had yet appeared. The work was prepared under the supervision of Major-General Scott, and its publication was among the last of the noteworthy events in the history of the War Department under the administration of John C. Calhoun.

Henceforth, until about the time of the war with Mexico, the duties of the Department were principally those of administering the affairs of the military establishment as at this time in law and fact organized. Considerable military works were constructed along the Atlantic sea-board and the Gulf of Mexico; much was done on works of internal improvement, roads, rivers, and harbors; large quantities of arms were manufactured, distributed to the different States and Territories, placed in national works, supplied to the army, or stored for future use; Indian affairs were managed in the main with a success, as to the interests of the Indians and of the republic, as great as has at any time since been achieved; expeditions across the continent were instituted, and were made so far successful during the period now under review as to fully warrant the prophecies of the few far-see-

ing statesmen who foretold that our Atlantic and Pacific coasts would be connected together by railways before the close of the nineteenth century. In that vast enterprise of material progress, and of national progress also, the Pacific Railroad, the War Department led the van. Some of the expeditions in this great work were in vigorous operation when the Mexican war began.

CHAPTER IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTMENT BUILDINGS.

A Sketch of the Public Buildings Occupied by the War Department — A Fuller Account of the Building so Occupied from the Secretaryship of Mr. Calhoun till the Year 1879 — The Different Secretaries' Apartments — Its Works of Art — Its Prospective Destruction — The Structure known as "The War, State, and Navy Department Building."

WHILE the seat of government remained at New York, and also while Philadelphia was the capital, the apartments used by the War Department were unpretending offices, very few in number, rented of private parties. Soon after Washington City became the capital, public buildings were ready for occupancy, namely: the Capitol, the Executive Mansion, and buildings for the War, State, Treasury, and Navy Departments. Round about the President's house the government owned a large tract of land, the nature of which was very different from that which art has since caused it to assume. That which is now the beautiful La Fayette Park, with its wonderful variety of trees and shrubbery, and its much-debated statuary, was little better than a quagmire. There are men now living who have skated on its frozen waters in the cold snaps of nearly eighty years ago. The general surface of the land was also very different from what it has since been made by engineering skill and labor, which levelled hills down and valleys up in a remarkable manner.

But before the first public edifices were completed, the War Department occupied a building on Pennsylvania Avenue, south side, between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets — a large and handsome structure owned by Mr. Joseph Hodgson. This building, with many archives of the office, was destroyed by fire in 1801, and its blackened walls, long left standing, were for years called "the Burned War Office."

The original design with respect to the construction of public buildings near the Executive Mansion, was that there should be four, one north-west, one north-east, one south-east, one south-west of the mansion, equidistant therefrom. This design was executed, and for many years the War Department building stood where it now (December, 1878) stands, the Navy Department also occupied its present position, the Treasury being near the present position of its south wing, and the State Department where the north wing of the Treasury now is. These buildings were all alike in exterior form, were built of common bricks, painted a drab color, and besides the basement contained two stories and an attic. In front of each, occupying about one-third of the elevation, was a colonnade, ornamented with Corinthian pillars, painted white. In fine, the illustration in this volume of the old War Department building is a representation of each of the four public buildings in the vicinity of the White House as they were originally designed, except that they were all one story less in height than appears in the engraving.

The distinguished financier and benefactor of his country's capital, Mr. W. W. Corcoran, was a youth

living in Georgetown, when the public buildings were destroyed by the British in 1814. He saw the troops, about one hundred in number, as he thinks, march up the Avenue on August 25th, and set fire to the buildings of the War and Navy Departments. He informs me that the building for the War Department first reconstructed, was the structure now occupied by the Navy Department, and which was for some time used by both Departments, what is known as the old War Department building having been completed about the year 1820, and first occupied by Secretary Calhoun. Entrance to the main floor of the old War and Navy building was for some years gained by a descent of several steps, so that there was a common saying: "the War Department is built in a hole in the ground." The building first occupied as the War Office by Mr. Calhoun remained, until during the war of the rebellion, as originally constructed. Then its capacity was increased by an additional story.

Secretary Calhoun, and his successors down to the time of Mr. Marcy, as nearly as I can learn from the traditions of the Department, occupied rooms in the south-eastern part of the first story of the building. Secretary Marcy removed departmental head-quarters one story higher, but in the same relative position. Here they remained until the secretaryship of Jefferson Davis, when they were removed to nearer the middle of the south elevation of the building, occupying a small room in rear of the stairway (now occupied by Colonel Henry Goodfellow, of the Bureau of Military Justice) and the two rooms next on the east. These were the apartments occupied by the different Secretaries until the time of Mr. Stan-



ton, though now and then a Secretary would occupy the room now occupied by Mr. Chief Clerk H. T. Crosby, at the south-eastern corner of the building. Secretary Stanton moved headquarters to the opposite side of the corridor, where they have since remained, the Secretaries themselves occupying the corner apartment, with consultation- and reception-rooms adjoining. Here Stanton, Schofield, Grant, Rawlins, Sherman, Belknap, Taft, the younger Cameron, and McCrary, have directed the affairs of the Department.

Here also are the principal works of art belonging to the Department. Of these, the main attraction is "The War Department Portrait Gallery," consisting of portraits in oil, in almost all instances by eminent artists, of all the Secretaries of War except the present incumbent of the office (Mr. McCrary, whose portrait will be added to the collection by his successor), and of a number of other men distinguished in the conduct of military affairs. This interesting, invaluable collection of paintings, is almost entirely of recent origin, nearly all of them having been furnished to the gallery during the administration of Secretary Belknap.

Very appropriately, the portrait of General Knox is the largest of all in the collection; for Knox was the most prodigious of Secretaries. The portrait is a copy of a Gilbert Stuart, in Faneuil Hall, by a Boston artist, J. H. Young, and represents the General in the Revolutionary buff and blue, and in full-dress of a major-general. The painting of Colonel Pickering is believed to be painted by Waldo, and is certainly old. It was accidentally discovered

by General Belknap in an auction store in Warren street, New York, and, exactly corresponding with a picture by Waldo, mentioned by Mr. Pickering in his diary, was bought. It is enough like the painting by Stuart to justify the statement of its being a good likeness. The portrait of Mr. McHenry is a side-view, taken from an old, small picture, but is not a fine work. That of General Dearborn, by a Boston artist, is a very spirited work, representing the General in full military dress. The portrait of Samuel Dexter is a fine copy by Professor R. W. Wier, of the Military Academy, as is that also of Mr. Eustis. General Armstrong was painted by Huntington, and the work, one of great spirit, presented to the Department by Mr. William B. Astor, of New York. Monroe is by Wier. William H. Crawford is represented in an admirable copy of a Jarvis by Huntington. The portrait of Calhoun is rather commonplace. Secretary Belknap found it at West Point, with the face turned toward the wall! He at once removed it to a prominent position in the Secretary's room. The picture of Secretary Barbour is by Ulke, a copy. General Peter B. Porter is represented in a very spirited work by Huntington, from an original by Jarvis. The picture of Secretary J. M. Porter is by the same artist, from an original by a provincial artist, and is the representation of an unusually handsome man. The Eaton is by Wier. General Cass is by Huntington, a most excellent work. Secretary *ad interim* Butler is by Wier, and presents a manly face and intellectual head above a standing collar and a high "stock." The painting of Mr. Poinsett has been long in the Department, and the artist is

unknown. That of John Bell shows a statesman in black coat and white vest, and is, I judge, by Le Cleary, though I do not find any record in this case. There are two paintings of Secretary Spencer, one poor, the other good, done by Huntington, from a family picture. The same artist supplied the likeness of Wilkins. Secretary Marcy is done in an admirable work by Ulke. Secretary G. W. Crawford, a fairly splendid-looking man, is by Huntington, from an original by Jarvis. The portrait of General Scott, which is rather effeminate, has been long in the office. His successor in charge of the Department, Mr. Conrad, is done in an animated work by Huntington, from a family picture. The portrait of Jefferson Davis, which occupies a prominent position in the Secretary's room, is a flattering likeness by the same artist. This is also true of the painting of Secretary Floyd, which hangs by the side of that of Mr. Davis. Ulke has produced an excellent likeness and very superior work of art in the portrait of Judge Holt. Secretary Simon Cameron is well done by Thorp. One of the most spirited of all the paintings in the collection is that of Secretary Stanton, by Ulke. The portrait of Secretary *ad interim* Grant is one of the best in existence, and is by Huntington. There is also a bust, in marble, of General Grant, by Preston Powers, son of Hiram Powers. It is mounted on a pedestal of blue marble, and is a creditable but not surpassingly excellent work. I have never seen a first-rate picture of General Schofield of any kind. His portrait in this collection — by Alvord, of San Francisco, I believe — is as good as there is extant. Ulke has preserved General Rawlins in a noble por-

trait. General Sherman is by Huntington, and is a superb portrait. Secretary Belknap is by the same artist, but the work is not one of Huntington's best. He also painted a spirited likeness of Secretary Taft. The younger Cameron, completing the list of Secretaries up to the present head of the Department, is by Huntington, and is one of the most creditable works in the gallery.

In addition to those of the Secretaries, there are three fine portraits of eminent soldiers of the Revolution—Washington, Lincoln, and Gates. These are copies of celebrated paintings by Huntington. A notable work in the ante-room is a half-length painting of General —— Clarke, of the distinguished Virginia family of Revolutionary soldiers and explorers. This fine portrait was placed in the collection by Secretary Floyd. There are two portraits of General Jackson, one, in the dress of a major-general, by Sully. A fine portrait of General Worth, presented to Secretary Belknap by Inspector-General Marcy, was donated by the Secretary to the "gallery," which he did so much to found and perfect. The spirited painting of General Zachary Taylor, is by W. G. Brown, of Richmond, Virginia. It was painted at Monterey, Mexico, during the Mexican war. Of soldiers distinguished in the late war, there are paintings of Generals McPherson, Meade, Blair, Sheridan, and Logan. The portrait of General Blair is the most notable of these, being a fine likeness, remarkable for its accurate coloring, though painted from a photograph. The artist, Mr. Ulke, had been acquainted with General Blair during his lifetime, and memory supplied his art so well as to

enable him to produce this wonderfully accurate and animated portrait. The only civilian not at any time connected with the War Department whose picture belongs to this gallery, is the late distinguished Henry Wilson, who died while he was Vice-President of the United States. Chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate during the entire period of the Civil War, and for several years thereafter, his likeness was appropriately made part of the War Department portrait gallery. A bust of Washington, in bronze, from a plaster cast at Mount Vernon — the last taken from Washington in person — stands on the mantel in the room adjoining that of the Secretary.

There are in the room of the chief clerk, twelve small paintings, representing as many battle scenes in the Mexican war. They are by Walker, who painted "the Battle of Chapultepec," which hangs in the west corridor leading to the Senate chamber. These small paintings have the same fulness of detail which characterizes the "Chapultepec," and are as spirited and gorgeous in coloring as that singular work. The only other oil painting of note in the old Department building is a large work by Oregon Wilson, called "Woman's Devotion," showing a wounded Union soldier on a field being cared for by a beautiful woman. It is a work of great pathos. It is in the room of Colonel Poe, of General Sherman's staff, but does not belong either to the army headquarters or the Department. It is left on exhibition by the heirs of the artist, and I mention it here in the hope that Congress may make provision for its purchase. This dying soldier, with his magnificent maiden

lover, should be added to "the War Department Portrait Gallery." In the same room and rooms adjoining is the series of etchings of operations of the army, and incidents of the late war by E. Forbes. There are about fifty different pictures in the series, than which nothing could more successfully recall to mind the varied scenes and incidents of the war. Hanging among these graphic etchings are many engravings, all of superior artistic finish, of distinguished American generals from the earliest times to the present. In the room of the popular Mr. E. M. Lawton, disbursing officer of the Department, are six large and elaborate French engravings of notable war scenes in the history of Bonaparte. In a room near by is the most spirited picture of General Jackson extant, and is said by old citizens to be the best likeness of him. It is a lithograph, life-size.

One of the most visited parts of the old War Department was the library, occupying rooms in the middle of the building adjoining those set apart for the Secretary. The library, comprising some fifteen thousand volumes of works of standard literature, and many recent publications, is always open for reference and consultation to the employés of the Department. Such employés and officers of the army sojourning at the capital, also have the privilege of borrowing books from the library in limited number and for limited periods. About one thousand persons at this time avail themselves of this privilege. Connected with the library, but not for circulation, are great numbers of public documents, which have from time to time been issued by the authority of Congress. These, being chiefly legislative, executive,

and departmental documents, are for consultation by such officials only as require their use in the line of their official duties. They have become so numerous that the large apartment devoted to their care is overcrowded, and the books have fallen into some confusion.

A similar thing is true of the Department building itself, which has for many years been grossly inadequate to accommodate the officers and employés of the Department. Hence bureaux and divisions of the War Department are scattered over a wide portion of the city, from Tenth to Twentieth streets, causing much inconvenience in the transaction of business, and vastly increasing the probabilities of loss of valuable property and invaluable archives by fire. Several years ago, Congress provided for the construction of a building for the use of the War, State, and Navy Departments. The southern portion has for some time been completed, and occupied by the Department of State. The middle eastern extension has now so far approached completion that it will be ready for occupancy during the spring of 1879, whereupon the present occupants of the old War building will remove into the new one, transferring thither the archives, files, works of art, the library, and all other movable property. Then the old building of so many historic associations will be razed to the ground, to make way for the north wing of the new structure.

This edifice, commonly called "the War, State, and Navy Department," will be, when completed, an immense pile, occupying more ground than any other building in America. Its different floors will

consume several acres of superficial area, and it will contain every business day an average of more than two thousand men engaged in the service of the government, from statesmen renowned in both hemispheres to the common laborer. The plan of the building was designed by the noted A. B. Mullett, and the design is by many thought to be grand and beautiful. The immensity of the pile of itself will, perhaps, give it a grand appearance, but it may well be doubted whether we shall ever have anything in our architecture to equal the grand simplicity of the Patent Office, or the sublime beauties of the Capitol. If the men of the future who are called upon to conduct the affairs of the War Department shall be equal to most of those who have conducted them in the past, they will honor the building, let its architecture be what it will.

CHAPTER V.

CONDUCT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BY THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE GENERAL INDIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT — THE WAR DEPARTMENT IN CHARGE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS UNTIL THE YEAR 1849 — THE SITUATION OF THE INDIANS AT THE TIME OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT — AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR GRADUAL REMOVAL WESTWARD, AS THE RESULT OF WARS AND BY THE OPERATION OF TREATIES — THEIR PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION WHILE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT — THEIR FORMER AND PRESENT SITUATION COMPARED.

AS has already been stated, the conduct of Indian affairs was in charge of the War Department from the beginning of the government. It so continued until the year 1849, when the practical establishment of the Interior Department by its first Secretary, the distinguished Thomas Ewing, resulted in the transfer of this portion of the public business to that Department, in accordance with the law under which it was organized. There the business has remained up to this time (January, 1879), with oft-recurring discussions in Congress and by the public press on the subject of retransferring it to the Department of War, where disinterested persons best informed upon the subject generally agree it appropriately belongs.

It would be difficult to understand the general Indian policy of the government of the United States, without recollecting the fact that in its main features it is but the outgrowth of the general polity and prac-

tice of the nations of Christendom with respect to the inhabitants of the new world, after its discovery by Columbus, and during the long period of its original settlement and early development.

The principle agreed upon by the nations of Europe with respect to their respective rights in America, was the principle of discovery. That is to say, discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. The exclusion of all other Europeans necessarily gave to the nation making the discovery the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives, and establishing settlements upon it. It was a right with which no Europeans could interfere, which all asserted for themselves, and to the assertion of which, by others, all assented. Those relations which were to exist between the discoverer and the natives were to be regulated by themselves. The rights thus acquired being exclusive, no other power could interpose between them.

In the establishment of these relations, the rights of the original inhabitants were in no instance entirely disregarded, but were necessarily, to a considerable extent, impaired. They were admitted to be the rightful occupants of the soil, with a legal as well as just claim to retain possession of it, and to use it according to their own discretion; but their rights to complete sovereignty as independent nations were necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will, to whomsoever they pleased, was denied by the original fundamental principle that discovery gave exclusive title to those

who made it. While the different nations of Europe respected the right of the natives as occupants, they asserted the ultimate right to be in themselves, and claimed and exercised, as a consequence of this ultimate dominion, a power to grant the soil while yet in possession of the natives. These grants conveyed a title to the grantees, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy. The history of America, from its discovery to the present day, proves the universal recognition of these principles.[1]

Upon these principles, which substantially amounted to the right of conquest, the Atlantic sea-board of the present United States was settled. The Indians inhabiting this portion of the continent were chiefly of the Algonquin stock, and Europeans gained possession of the soil from what is now Maine to the Carolinas by dispossessing, through one means or another, the Pequods, Narragansetts, Mohegans, Delawares, Powhatans, Catawbas, and some other tribes and bands. By the same policy, and the same resistless power, the frontier of settlements was pushed toward the interior, and the Indian occupancy still further toward the setting sun. In nearly, if not quite all instances, the Indian right of occupancy was bought, the bargain being in the nature of a treaty. Thus the original thirteen States of this Union were settled.

The policy thus established by the consent of Christendom and the usage of centuries became at once, as by necessity, the established policy of the United States after the adoption of the federal Con-

[1] Graham's Lessee *vs.* William McIntosh, 8 Wheaton's Reports, 543; opinion by Chief-Justice Marshall.

stitution. From the beginning the War Department was governed by this policy in all cases where the acquisition of Indian territory became necessary or desirable. It even had theoretical and practical difficulties to contend against which had not existed before the establishment of the government. These difficulties were settled by the authoritative announcement of the *status* of the various Indian nations with respect to the republic. They were denominated by the Supreme Court domestic dependent nations, rather than independent foreign nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will. Their relations to the United States resemble that of a ward to his guardian.[1]

The duties of the guardian toward this singular and erratic ward were to be performed, by direction of law, by the War Department. Among its first performances in this line of duty was the negotiation of a treaty with "the Six Nations," or Iroquois confederacy, consisting of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras—powerful and warlike tribes inhabiting a large section of country from Lake Champlain to the western extremity of Lake Erie. This treaty, negotiated in January, 1789, by General St. Clair, fixed the western boundary of the territory of this confederacy along what is now the line between Pennsylvania and Ohio. At the same time a treaty was negotiated with the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatamie, and Sac nations, defining their boundaries in what is now north-eastern Ohio, northern Indiana, and Michigan, making several considerable reservations for the whites, and

[1] The Cherokee Nation *vs.* The State of Georgia, 5 Peters, 1.

providing for trade with the Indians. In the following year a treaty was negotiated by General Knox, Secretary of War, with the Creeks, the most powerful tribe of the South, wherein the boundaries of their territory were agreed to. This territory embraced a large portion of Georgia. To the west, north, and north-west of the Creeks, in what is now Alabama, Tennessee, and the Carolinas, were the Cherokees, with whom a treaty of peace and friendship was about the same time negotiated. In 1795 another treaty was made with "the Six Nations," whereby they ceded a large quantity of lands to the United States, reserving to themselves a comparatively small area in New York. All north-eastern and much of western New York were thus opened up to settlement. In the same year, General Wayne having defeated the Indians of the West, made a treaty with the Wyandot, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, Pottawatamie, Miami, Eel-river, Wea, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, and Kaskaskia nations, whereby large territory in Ohio was ceded to the United States, and many and considerable reservations to the westward of the frontier laid down in this negotiation. This frontier may be generally described as a line running between the present city of Cleveland, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky. South of the Ohio River in Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Mississippi, according to modern maps, were the Chickasaws; and south of these, in Mississippi and western Alabama, were the Choctaws, with neither of which tribes, however, did the government enter into treaty stipulations until after the beginning of the nineteenth century. But we learn from the treaties to which reference has

been made, that whereas at the time of the establishment of the government under the Constitution, Indians occupied the country west of a line in a general direction from Lake Champlain on the north-east to East Tennessee on the south-west and southward of a line extending thence south-eastward to the Atlantic, they had been pressed westward in half a dozen years, till nearly all of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and much of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia, were relieved of their presence.

In June, 1803, General Harrison negotiated a treaty, at Fort Wayne, with various tribes of Indians inhabiting Indiana and Illinois, whereby considerable cessions of lands were made to the United States, and rights of way and to build inns in the Indian country were conceded. In the summer of the same year the same officer concluded at Vincennes a treaty with the Kaskaskias, who were almost the sole remnants of the once powerful and numerous family of Indians known as the Illinois. This treaty begins in simple pathos. "Whereas," it says, "from a variety of unfortunate circumstances the several tribes of Illinois Indians are reduced to a very small number, the remains of which have been long consolidated and known by the name of the Kaskaskia tribe, and finding themselves unable to occupy the extensive tract of country which of right belongs to them, and which was possessed by their ancestors for many generations, the chiefs and warriors of said tribe being also desirous of procuring the means of improvement in the arts of civilized life, and a more certain and effectual support for their women and children, have, for the considerations hereinafter men-

tioned, relinquished, and by these presents do relinquish and cede to the United States, all the lands in the Illinois country which the said tribe has heretofore possessed or which they may rightfully claim." They reserved to themselves only about fifteen hundred acres of land, of which part was a cultivated farm near the village which bore the name of the tribe. In the following summer, General Harrison also negotiated treaties with the Delawares and Piankashaws, whereby the Indians ceded to the United States all the south-western part of the present State of Indiana. In 1805, a number of important treaties, whereby large areas of "Indian country" were ceded to the United States, were negotiated. Thus, by a treaty with various tribes of Indians inhabiting northern Ohio and Indiana and Michigan, the frontier on the North-west was moved a considerable distance westward; an advantageous treaty with the warlike Chickasaws gave the United States large parts of Kentucky and Tennessee; General Harrison negotiated on the part of the United States several treaties with different tribes of Indians inhabiting the country to considerable distance on either bank of the Wabash River, in all of which valuable cessions of lands were made by the savages; the Creeks, in a treaty negotiated by Secretary of War Dearborn, made a large cession of their territory between the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers; the Cherokees also ceded a large area of the northern portion of their territory, and in the following year gave up to the United States, by a treaty which was also negotiated on the part of the government by the Secretary of War in person, all their lands lying northward of

the river Tennessee. In the three following years, the government also procured large cessions in Michigan from the Chippewa and other nations, in Indiana and Illinois from the Delawares and associate tribes, and in what is now Missouri and Arkansas, from the Great and Little Osages.

It thus appears that about the time of the close of the administration of President Jefferson our actual frontier had advanced largely on the North-west, West, and South-west. As the Indians retreated, chiefly by reason of the treaties of which a brief account has thus been given, the citizens of the republic advanced, building themselves homes, and extending the benignant sovereignty of free institutions. From the establishment of the government down to the time now in immediate review, Vermont, in the North, Ohio in the then North-west, Kentucky and Tennessee in the South-west, had been admitted as States into the Union, and were never afterwards disturbed, except in a few instances during the war with Great Britain, by the horrors of savage warfare or the plunderings of savage bands.

Unhappily, there appeared about this time a remarkable Indian, whose influence among many of the tribes of the West and North-west was very great, and was constantly exerted in all the ways known to Indian eloquence, cunning, and superstition, in behalf of war against the people of the United States. This was the celebrated Tecumseh. Soon after the beginning of the present century this singular man entered upon a system of savage diplomacy whose object was war with the people of this republic. A chief of the strong and exceedingly warlike Shawnee

nation, possessed of remarkable cunning and powers of persuasion, he visited many of the Western tribes in person, stirring them up to feelings of hatred for their white neighbors, who, it was plain, were rapidly forcing them from the homes and hunting-grounds of their ancestors. In these warlike though secret errands, Tecumseh was aided in a singular and most powerful manner by his brother Elskwatawa, "The Prophet." The Prophet was noted for his ghastly human ugliness, which, however, gave him added power over the savage mind. He was looked upon as a powerful evil spirit, whom it were impious and unsafe to disobey. His superstitious appeals were fairly irresistible by the rude savages to whom they were addressed. These machinations, pursued for years among the Western tribes, and even among the Creeks of the South, produced the desired result, and many tribes — largely those who had defeated St. Clair, and whom Wayne had subsequently terribly punished — resolved upon war. The result was a harassing savage war on the North-western border, brought to a consummation most disastrous to the Indians by the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, wherein the confederated Indians, under the command of Tecumseh himself, were utterly defeated and put to rout by General Harrison.

The fact that this notable victory occurred just on the eve of our war with Great Britain, unquestionably prevented our taking advantage of it by negotiations which would have been of great benefit to the country, in respect of another advance of our frontier on the far West. Nevertheless, before the close of the war — July, 1814 — General Harrison concluded an ad-

vantageous treaty of peace and friendship with the principal tribes of the Wabash country, and General Jackson, who had defeated the Creeks in a series of sanguinary battles, in the following month negotiated with them a treaty not only of perpetual peace and friendship, but one which compelled them to surrender to the government an immense area of territory.[1] Thus Harrison and Jackson, who did about the best fighting of the war, also did the most for the "march of our civilization," by making a way for our citizens to extend their frontier on the west and on the south.

In the war with Great Britain, most of the Indian tribes took part against the United States; but such was not the case with part of "the Six Nations" in the East, large parts of the Delawares, Wyandots, Western Senecas, Shawnees, and Western Sacs in the West, the Cherokees and Chickasaws of the South. These remained faithful to the United States, there being no considerable defection among the Cherokees or Chickasaws. Soon after the close of the war, Governor Ninian Edwards, of the Territory of Illinois, Governor William Clark, of the Territory of Missouri, and August Chouteau, a citizen of Missouri, were recommended by the Department of War, and appointed by the President, ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate treaties of peace and friendship with various tribes occupying the territory now embraced by the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa,

[1] For this quite remarkable treaty, see U. S. Stat. at Large, VII., 120 *et seq.* All the treaties to which reference has been or will be made in this chapter will be found in same volume, unless otherwise noted.

Minnesota, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, and Nebraska. Between the 15th of July, 1815, and the latter part of August, 1818, these plenipotentiaries negotiated no less than twenty-five such treaties with more than that number of independent savage tribes. These treaties were brief but explicit conventions of peace and friendship, with express acknowledgment on the part of the Indians of their dependence upon the United States for protection. In some instances the treaties also embraced cessions of lands to the government. Thus, in a treaty with the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatamies "residing on the Illinois and Melwakee Rivers," the Indians ceded a large area in Illinois, and by a treaty with the Great and Little Osages, the United States became possessed of their lands south of the Arkansas River. Other treaties of like nature, with more powerful tribes, were from time to time negotiated by other plenipotentiaries, notably by Generals Harrison and Cass and Governor Duncan McArthur, in the West and Northwest, and General Jackson in the South, so that by about the year 1820, or a little later, the great bulk of the territory east of the Mississippi River, and large areas west thereof, were open to settlement by the whites without the least danger of molestation by the savages. Since 1812, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, and Alabama had been admitted into the Union, Missouri had adopted a State Constitution, and Arkansas had been organized into a separate Territory. In all these States and Territories there was still a considerable Indian population, but by force of treaty stipulations it was confined on small reservations, so that it interfered as little as practicable

with the progress of settlement and the steady development of the country westward.

It were tedious and unprofitable to relate further the details of the many treaties with Indian tribes, negotiated through the agency of the War Department down to the year 1849, whereby the United States became possessed of nearly all the vast expanse lying between the Appalachian range and the western boundary of the tier of States lying west of the Mississippi River. These acquisitions, made at various times and on different terms, enabled the whites to open up to settlement and civilization not only the great States already mentioned, but later, and before the control of Indian affairs was transferred to another branch of the government, the States of Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Wisconsin, and Iowa. In the performance of the duty of removing these obstacles in the way of national development and of the progress of civilization, it was impossible always to avoid misunderstandings and wars. The wars between the United States and Indians, both in the North and in the South, were in most instances bloody, and always terribly cruel on the part of the savages. It was natural, when they were at last defeated, that they should be made to suffer heavily for the horrors they had committed. Thus their own conduct, as every one will remember in the case of the Black Hawk war in 1832, was a powerful cause of their rapid movement toward the West. It is not a distinguishing quality of savage genius to deserve much kindly treatment, and those who understand American Indians best, would probably agree that where there is one Keo-

kuk there are a thousand Tecumsehs and Sitting Bulls.[1]

But the removal of savage tribes out of the way of our national development, was only a part of the duties required of the War Department with respect to these unhappy people. There must necessarily be less or more intercourse between them and the whites of the frontier, and there has always been considerable profit in Indian trade. The regulation of this intercourse and trade, prescribed by law, was in charge of the War Department. Congress from time to time passed acts "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers," which, with the exception of the boundaries of the Indian country laid down in the acts, were in each instance substantially the same, from the year 1796 down to the year 1822. These acts prohibited any citizen or resident of the United States from passing within the prescribed Indian limits to hunt or destroy game, or to drive cattle or other live-stock thither to range on the Indian lands. They also prohibited persons from passing through the lands allotted to the Indians without passports from certain designated officials, and provided severe penalties in punishment of

[1] A very interesting case of the movement of Indians westward is found in a tribe renowned in history, in romance, and in song — the Delawares. They originally lived on the shores of the Atlantic, inhabiting the country now known as the State of Delaware, and the banks of the river of the same name, and of the Schuylkill. Few in numbers, listless, and unenergetic, all there are left of this once powerful nation are now incorporated with another tribe near the centre of the Indian Territory. As an independent people, the Lenni-Lenape are extinct.

those committing crimes against the Indians or their property. Trade could be carried on with the Indians only by Indian traders, each of whom received a license for the purpose from the Indian office in the War Department, and was required to enter into bonds for the faithful performance of his duties according to law and regulations. Trading-houses were also authorized to be established at as many places in the Indian country as might be designated by the President. These trading-houses, authorized by a different series of acts of Congress from that above referred to, were in the charge of "agents," under the direct supervision of the superintendent of Indian trade. They, too, were placed under heavy bonds for the faithful performance of their duties. They were totally distinct from the Indian traders. The traders carried on business on their own account, supplying their own capital and goods; the agents conducted the business of the trading-houses for the United States, which supplied the capital and goods. The furs and peltries thus acquired were sold at public auction by the government, at different places in the country designated by the President.

On the system thus described business with the Indians was conducted and intercourse carried on until 1822, when the trading establishments were abolished by act of Congress, and the proceeds directed to be turned into the public treasury.[1] At about the same time an act was passed amending the law regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, whereby the granting of licenses to trade was given to superintendents of Indian affairs and Indian

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 679.

agents, these being required to make regular returns of their doings in the premises to the Secretary of War. Stringent provision was made against illicit trade with the Indians, and all traders and officials having to do with Indian affairs were required to report regularly and fully to the War Department.[1] This continued to be substantially the system for the regulation of trade and intercourse with the Indians so long as the management of their affairs remained in the War Department. A general superintendent of Indian affairs, to reside at St. Louis, was authorized by the act of 1822, which gave to that city, for many years, an extensive and profitable Indian trade.

Nor, while thus engaged in constantly extending the area of our territory for national development, and in the manifold labors growing out of the regulations of trade and intercourse with the Indians, did the War Department fail to pay large attention to those interesting questions of humanity and civilization which pertain to the solution of the Indian problem. From the beginning, the Department demanded and labored for the civilization of the Indians. This, a consummation so devoutly to be wished, is a task the accomplishment of which is exceedingly difficult. In its beginnings especially the work must be so slow as to make progress scarcely perceptible. To the American Indian labor is wonderfully repugnant. He is a natural tramp. Generous philanthropists and ardent humanitarians may not like to hear it, but it is nevertheless true, that time and force are

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 682. It should be stated that Governors of Territories were, *ex-officio*, so to say, Indian superintendents.

necessary to overcome the Indian repugnance to steady work, the genius of the American savage for vagabondage.

Hence years were required to make even a visible beginning in the civilization of the Indians. Among the Indians themselves the pioneers in the work of civilization have always been the Cherokees, and they are now the most civilized of North American Indians, unless an exception be made of individuals among the remnants of "the Six Nations," in New York. The salubrious climate and beautiful scenery of the original Cherokee country no doubt did much to smooth down the rugged edges of savage character, and to fit the nation for the position of leadership in the march out of the wilderness of barbarism. As early as the autumn of 1808, a deputation of the Upper and Lower Cherokee towns visited the national capital, with the authority of the entire Cherokee nation, with the object of declaring to the President their desire to engage in the pursuits of agriculture and the arts of civilization, and to ask the assistance of the government herein. In this deputation there were two sets of delegates, one representing the Lower Cherokees, the other the Upper Cherokees, both agreeing in the petition to the President for aid in behalf of those who desired civilization, but the Lower bands making known their wish to continue as hunters. These, on account of the scarcity of game, wanted more lands, while the Upper Cherokees would be content with less. The President advised the removal of those requiring more lands to the country on the waters of the Arkansas and White rivers, "and the higher up the better." This

was the original negotiation in that scheme of Indian colonization and civilization which, since the act of May 28, 1830,[1] has been in progress in what is called "Indian Territory," a vast expanse set apart and forever secured and guaranteed for such Indian tribes as might exchange their lands for lands in this territory.

The already existing difficulties with Great Britain, however, and the war which not long afterwards occurred, prevented the speedy carrying out of the scheme suggested to the Cherokees by President Jefferson. But the idea seemed good to the Indians, and was at length practically adopted. The Cherokees explored the country designated by Jefferson, and selected lands in that region not claimed by others. In July, 1817, General Jackson, General David Meriwether, and Governor Joseph McMinn, of Tennessee, plenipotentiaries on the part of the United States, negotiated a treaty with the Cherokees, substantially executing Mr. Jefferson's scheme. By this important treaty, the Cherokees ceded large extents of their country to the United States, and received therefor the same quantity of lands, acre for acre, on the Arkansas. They were also to be paid for their improvements on their lands, and to be furnished with transportation to their new hunting-grounds, and an ample supply of provisions.

Such was the original treaty, which was ratified by the Senate, and proclaimed by the President in the following December, which resulted at length in the settlement of the Indian Territory, with the avowed object of Indian civilization. The principal migrations thither did not occur, however, until the years

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IV., 411.

1831 and 1832, when the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees (except a remnant still living in North Carolina), left the land of their ancestors for new homes and hunting-grounds on lands most solemnly guarantied to them and their progeny forever, but which corporational rapacity is already seeking to wrest from them by an act of legislative robbery. The Seminoles followed later, and from time to time other tribes and bands were added on the negotiation of treaties for exchange of lands, until the population of the Territory was supposed to be about fifty thousand souls, when the War Department gave up the control of Indian affairs.

But before this scheme of colonization had been even suggested, the War Department had instituted measures for the civilization of the Indians which had produced good fruits. In a treaty negotiated on the part of the United States by Secretary Knox, in August, 1790, with the Creeks, it was provided "that the Creek nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with domestic animals and implements of husbandry." Other provisions for the actual teaching of the Indians in husbandry and learning and the mechanic arts were made. Like provisions were made in treaties with other nations, so that a number of tribes had made some progress in civilization before the war with England interrupted these benignant labors of the Department. After the restoration of peaceful relations with the Indians, these efforts were resumed, schools were established, and considerable

progress made in the rudiments of learning. Annual appropriations, varying in amount, were made for this object. In his report of December 3, 1824, to the President, Secretary Calhoun said: "The appropriation of $10,000 annually for the civilization of the Indians, is producing very beneficial effects by improving the condition of the various tribes in our neighborhood. Already thirty-two schools are established in the Indian nations, and for the most part are well conducted, in which, during the present year, nine hundred and sixteen youths of both sexes have been instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and all of the ordinary occupations of life."[1] In the following year, Secretary Barbour, in his regular report, said: "The effect of our policy in furnishing the means of education to the Indian youths is disclosed in the report (on Indian affairs), by which it will be seen that in this year eleven hundred and fifty-nine have profited by our liberality."[2] It was in the special interest of the civilization of the Indians that a commissioner of Indian affairs, with very full powers under the Secretary of War, was authorized by law in 1830.[3] Thus the work of civilization constantly made some progress, so that at the close of the war with Mexico, there were about four thousand pupils in the schools, large quantities of land successfully cultivated, very many comfortable houses, shops, and factories, great numbers of cattle and other live-stock owned by individual Indians.[4]

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 699. [2] *Ibid.*, III., 111.

[3] U. S. Stat. at Large, IV., 564.

[4] For many, but not wholly reliable, statistics as to the situation of the Indians at various epochs, see Schoolcraft, *passim*.

Not long after the close of the Mexican war, the conduct of Indian affairs by the War Department came to an end. The acquisition of Texas, and of a vast extent of territory besides, as a result of the war, added very largely to the Indian population of the republic — a population almost as varied in character as in the number of its tribes and bands, from the enervated, dirt-eating sloths of the far South-west to the restless robbers of the Rio Grande, the Comanches and Apaches, "the Arabs of the American continent." As this great number of Indians came under the control of the republic, the Department of the Interior assumed control of Indian affairs. During the sixty years' conduct of those affairs by the War Department, nearly half the territory of the Union had been opened up to settlement and actual development. From the shores of Lake Champlain to the farther boundary of the tier of commonwealths beyond the Mississippi River, and to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, the savages had been removed to a safe distance, or were confined within narrow reservations easily guarded by the military. In this vast expanse, embracing much of the magnificent valley of the Mississippi, from which the Indians were removed to make way for our march of empire, nearly a score of States were formed, which, in 1879, contain more than half the population of the republic, and the preponderance of its political power. This great work was accomplished without notable injustice or corruption, the condition of the Indians themselves being all the while improved with respect to comfort, the means of happiness, and the enlightenment of their minds, darkened by the shadows of centuries of ignorance and savagery.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BUREAUX OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

HISTORY OF THE DIFFERENT BUREAUX OF THE DEPARTMENT — THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT — THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT — THE BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE — THE SIGNAL OFFICE — THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

THE necessity of a system of staff departments for a military establishment — a system organized upon philosophical principles — as well in time of peace as during war, has been recurred to several times in the course of this work. The present military bureaux of the United States government, it is believed, form such a system, being neither too many nor too few for the accomplishment, in the most natural, the most economical, and the most efficient manner, of all the labors and duties required of a military establishment. The system represented in these bureaux has been of slow growth, being the result of more than a century's experience, and of the studies and reflections of the best military minds of the country. A sketch of their origin and growth could not be omitted in any fair history of the War Department.

I. THE ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

This department, so important, so absolutely necessary, according to all modern notions on the subject, for the organization and management of armies, for many years in the history of the United States,

may be described as a department on horseback. In peace or war this department, by whatsoever name it may be called, is the right arm of the military establishment, — the medium of its orders and commands, the custodian of its records and archives, the guardian of its documentary and best evidence, from the muster of the humblest enlisted man to the commission of the commander-in-chief, and the orders on the field of a pitched battle. Nevertheless, so imperfect and crude were the ideas of our people and legislators with respect to military affairs, or, perhaps it is more correct to say, so indifferent were they in regard to them, that there was no genuine, permanent organization of an adjutant-general's department in our military establishment until more than a score of years after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

Of course there was, by military necessity, all this time something taking the place, practically, of this all-important branch of the military establishment, but it was, to use the expressive words of Scripture describing the world in the early ages of creation, without form and void. It was scattered with the different corps of the army, and was without authoritative head at the centre of government. Perhaps the best was done, by force of military orders, that could be done without a regular organization of the department. Thus, to go back to revolutionary times, the distinguished General Horatio Gates was appointed adjutant-general of the army in June, 1775, and held the office for about a year. He was succeeded by the even more distinguished Joseph Reed. Before the close of that war, General St. Clair and

Colonel Timothy Pickering, afterwards Secretary of War, filled the office. The importance of the office was thus early recognized, which makes it all the more remarkable that the organization of the bureau was not earlier considered and perfected by legislation.

Upon the organization of the government of the United States under the Constitution, the army consisted of a single regiment of infantry, eight companies, and a battalion of artillery, four companies. There was no general staff. Within about two years this force was increased by the addition of four companies to the regiment of infantry, and of a second regiment of infantry. General officers and subordinate staff were provided. It was not until 1796, however, that an adjutant-general was placed on duty at the seat of government under the immediate orders of the Secretary of War; and so ill was the office provided for by law, that several times it was filled by detail from the line. The army was largely increased in 1798 on account of the difficulties with France, and at this time an adjutant-general, with the rank and pay of a brigadier-general, was appointed. The office was of short duration, continuing only until May, 1800. Major Thomas H. Cushing, by detail, filled the office of "adjutant and inspector of the army" for some two years, when it was created by law, and he regularly appointed and confirmed therein.

On the increase of the army by the act of January, 1812, an adjutant-general, with general rank, was again provided; but it was not until the act of March 3, 1813, that an adjutant-general's department was

authorized by law. The act provided that the department should consist of "an adjutant- and inspector-general," with the rank and pay of a brigadier-general, and sixteen assistant adjutant-generals, each with the brevet rank and pay of a major of cavalry. This department was also disbanded after the war, when the army was reduced to a peace footing; but by general orders of May 17, 1815, President Madison saved it from actual abolishment by directing that one adjutant-and inspector-general and two adjutant-generals be provisionally retained. In the following year Congress recognized and made permanent the offices thus provisionally retained, and provided that the department should consist of an adjutant- and inspector-general, with the rank and pay of a brigadier-general; an assistant adjutant-general with the rank of colonel, to each division (two); and an assistant adjutant-general with the rank of major, to each brigade (four). The department thus remained till 1821, when an act of Congress provided that the aids-de-camp to the major-general and brigadier-generals should perform the duties of assistant adjutant-general. The office of adjutant- and inspector-general was abolished, and that of adjutant-general created, who, in effect, formed the department as matter of law.[1] In 1838, the department was again increased to seven officers, the head of the department remaining, and being reinforced by two assistants with the brevet rank of major, and four with the brevet rank of captain.[2] In 1846, the war with Mexico brought an increase of four officers to the department, and these were

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 615. [2] *Ibid.*, V., 257, sec. 1.

increased during the following year by three more, The department thus consisted of fourteen officers, and so remained until the war of the rebellion made another increase necessary. By acts of Congress of 1861 and 1862, the strength of the department was placed at twenty officers, and the grade of captain was abolished, that of major being the lowest in the corps. Some other changes, which, however, proved to be of a temporary nature, were subsequently made by acts of Congress; but the act of March 3, 1875, placed the department upon a permanent basis, providing for an adjutant-general, with the rank and pay of a brigadier-general; two assistant adjutant-generals with the rank of colonel; four, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and ten, with the rank of major. Since this time, such has remained the organization of the department, open to promotions and appointments on the occurrence of vacancies. During all this time, as he had been for some years before, General Edward D. Townsend has been the adjutant-general of the army.

The roster of the adjutant-general's department by the last official register is as follows:

Adjutant-General. — Brigadier-General Edward D. Townsend.

Assistant Adjutant-Generals. — Colonels Richard C. Drum, James B. Fry; Lieutenant-Colonels John C. Kelton, Robert Williams, William D. Whipple, Chauncey McKeever; Majors George D. Ruggles, Thomas M. Vincent, Oliver D. Greene, Samuel Breck, Louis H. Pelouze, Henry C. Wood, Joseph H. Taylor, James P. Martin, Edward R. Platt, Samuel N. Benjamin.

II. THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

The duties appropriately pertaining to the adjutant-general's department, and those appropriately pertaining to the inspector-general's department were, as my readers must have observed, for many years commingled and joined together by law and usage. It seems to have been generally supposed that these departments went together by a kind of natural military jointure. Yet the duties of the two are entirely different and distinct, being no whit more alike than are the duties of the adjutant-general's department like those of the quartermaster's department. As the name of the inspector's department implies, its duties are to inspect the army — its arms, large and small, accoutrements, the clothing of the soldiers, their tents, barracks, and quarters, the state of the different corps in drill, discipline, the care of their arms, etc., etc. These duties, it will be observed, are exceedingly important. Thoroughly performed, they save the government against dishonest and fraudulent contractors, and imperfect stores and *materiel* of all kinds, and the army against the dangers of dirt, imperfect discipline, and inefficient command. It will be seen that these duties have no natural connection with those of an adjutant-general's department.

Some time in the year 1876, General (then Colonel) R. B. Marcy, Inspector-General of the United States Army, prepared a brief historical sketch of the department of which he was the head. In this little pamphlet, he said: "Until the adoption by Congress of the Revised Statutes now in force, it was not

understood that the inspector-generals, authorized by existing laws from time to time, constituted as a body a legal department. They were viewed as individual inspectors, assigned to the headquarters of the army for the Department of War for inspection service, and placed upon a footing similar to that of senior aides-de-camp; but the number of officers was so limited, and their rank and standing so fixed, that the question had no significance. Up to the time of the war of the rebellion, there was no inspector-general's office in Washington. It has been insisted upon, however, that the inspector-generals have constituted a department in the view of the law. Scott's Military Digest also takes this view. The doubt is now, however, disposed of by legislation."

It is remarkable that in the organization of the Continental army at the beginning of the Revolution, no provision was made for inspection. The lack of this needful staff department was soon seen in many and great abuses. General Washington urged the necessity of the appointment of inspector-generals, and his urgent views were complied with by Congress, which directed the appointment of two general officers for inspection duty. The first one appointed was Brigadier-General Conway, who, however, soon gave up the commission, being appointed a major-general in the army. The illustrious Baron Steuben was appointed inspector-general of the army in May, 1778, in which position, all historians agree, he introduced that thorough system of discipline among the American troops which largely contributed to their ultimate triumph. After this there were always in the army inspector-generals, but, as stated by Gen-

eral Marcy, they were not regularly and expressly organized by law into a staff department until the year 1874, when the Revised Statutes became the general body of federal law. They were from time to time increased, and from time to time diminished in number, according to what was supposed to be the needs of the service. The Revised Statutes provided that the department should consist of five inspector-generals, with the rank of colonel of cavalry; one assistant inspector-general, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel of cavalry; and two assistant inspector-generals, with the rank of major of cavalry. By an act of Congress of December 19, 1878, Inspector-General Marcy was made a full brigadier-general. Since then the department has consisted of the inspector-general of the army, with the rank of brigadier-general; three inspector-generals, with the rank of colonel; two assistant inspector-generals, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and one with the rank of major.

The corps of the inspector-general's department is at this time (January, 1879) composed of the following officers:

Inspector-Generals. — Brigadier-General Randolph B. Marcy; Colonels Delos B. Sackett, Edmund Schriver, Nelson H. Davis.

Assistant Inspector-Generals. — Lieutenant-Colonels Roger Jones, Absalom Baird; Major Elisha H. Luddington.

III. THE BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE.

This interesting branch of the War Department, like the inspector-general's department, as an organized bureau under the direct orders of the Secretary of War, is of recent origin. The origin of the de-

partment, however, as remarked by Judge Advocate-General Dunn, "is practically contemporaneous with the adoption of a military code."[1] Accordingly, we find that very early in the War of Independence the Continental Congress adopted articles of war, and created the office of judge-advocate of the army. And to this office, in July, 1775, was elected William Tudor, the elder, a distinguished counsellor of Boston, afterwards prominent in the politics of Massachusetts, holding several offices of trust and honor. As judge-advocate Mr. Tudor held the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He filled the office about three years, remaining most of the time at army headquarters. He was succeeded as judge advocate-general by John Lawrance, the most noted jurist and statesman of New York, afterwards judge of a United States court in that State, and later United States Senator, being president *pro tempore* of the Senate in 1798. He was judge-advocate in the trial of Major André. He resigned in May, 1782, and was succeeded by Colonel Thomas Edwards, who had been his principal assistant.

After the organization of the government under the Constitution, judge-advocates were for some years detailed from the line by orders. On the reorganization of the army, however, in 1797, a judge-advocate was provided for by law, to be taken from the line, and to receive liberal extra pay and allowances. This act remained in force about five years, after which judge-advocates were chosen by detail, as

[1] Hist. of the Judge Advocate-General's Department. Pamphlet, p. 1. To this pamphlet I am mainly indebted for the facts on the subject now being treated.

before. On the increase of the army by the act of January 11, 1812, a judge-advocate for each division was created, with the rank and pay of major. In 1816, it was enacted that there should be three judge-advocates to each division, with the same rank, pay, and emoluments as before. This law remained in force about two years, when the number was again reduced to one for each division. By operation of the act of March 2, 1821, the office of judge-advocate was discontinued on June 1 of that year. Under the acts here noted several noted men were judge-advocates, the most distinguished of all being Henry Wheaton, the eminent publicist, author of "Elements of International Law," no less celebrated as scholar and diplomatist than as a lawyer.

From 1821 down to the year 1849, judge-advocates were again selected, from time to time, in the different corps, by detail. By the act of March 2 of the latter year the President was authorized, the Senate consenting, to appoint a judge-advocate for the army, "to be taken from the captains in the army, who shall have the brevet rank, pay, and emoluments of a major of cavalry." Under this act Captain John F. Lee, of the ordnance department, was appointed, and continued to be judge-advocate until after the beginning of the war of the rebellion.

An act of Congress of July 17, 1862, provided for the appointment, by the President, of a judge advocate-general, with the rank and pay of a colonel of cavalry, "to whose office shall be returned for revision the records and proceedings of all courts-martial and military commissions, and where a record shall be kept of all proceedings had thereon." It

was also provided that there should be appointed for each army in the field a judge-advocate, each with the rank and pay of a major of cavalry, "to perform the duties of a judge-advocate for the army to which they respectively belong, under the direction of the judge advocate-general." Thus was created a judge advocate-general's department, and at the head of it was placed the illustrious Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who had been Postmaster-General and Secretary of War, was distinguished as a statesman, jurist, advocate, and was renowned above all the contemporaneous public men of his section for the ardor of his patriotism and the eloquence of his appeals for the Union. Under Judge Holt there were several men of note who served as judge advocates. Among them was John A. Bingham, of Ohio, who had won wide distinction in the House of Representatives, notably as chairman of the judiciary committee. After the war Mr. Bingham became even more distinguished in the House, and for several years has represented his country as Minister to the empire of Japan. William McKee Dunn was another of these judge-advocates. He had long been prominent in the politics of Indiana and at the bar of that State. As a member of Congress he had won a national reputation. He afterwards became assistant judge advocate-general, and later, when Judge Holt retired, became judge advocate-general, and has filled that position with great ability and perfect fidelity to this time, having fairly won the reputation of an upright judge and able jurist. There were others in the corps of considerable provincial prominence.

By an act of Congress of June 20, 1864, the "Bu-

reau of Military Justice" was authorized. The act expressly declared: "There shall be attached to, and made a part of, the War Department, during the continuance of the present rebellion, a bureau, to be known as the Bureau of Military Justice." The duties set forth for the bureau were identical with those of the judge advocate-general's office, and in effect constituted the bureau the law or solicitor's office of the War Department, revising all military trials and proceedings under the Military Code, and preparing opinions on questions of law which come up for decision by the Department. The law provided that the judge advocate-general should have the rank, pay, and emoluments of a brigadier-general, and the assistant judge advocate-general those of a colonel of cavalry. In July, 1866, Congress enacted that the Bureau of Military Justice shall hereafter consist of one judge advocate-general and one assistant judge advocate-general, the former ranking as a brigadier-general, the latter as a colonel of cavalry. The same act, as amended in February of the following year, provided: "Of the judge-advocates now in office, there may be retained a number not exceeding ten, to be selected by the Secretary of War, who shall perform their duties under the direction of the judge advocate-general." By a law of 1869, the number of judge-advocates was fixed at eight. By the act of June 23, 1874, the office of assistant judge-advocate was abolished, after the term of the then incumbent, and it was provided that in the corps of judge-advocates, no appointment should be made in case of vacancy until the number should be reduced to four, "which shall thereafter be the permanent

number of the officers of that corps." On the 1st of December, 1875, Judge Holt was retired at his own request, and was succeeded by Judge Dunn. The *personnel* of the bureau now consists of Judge Advocate-General William McKee Dunn, in charge of the bureau at Washington, and Judge-Advocates Major Guido N. Lieber, military division of the Atlantic; Major William Winthrop, assistant to judge advocate-general; Major Horace B. Burnham, department of the Platte; Major Thomas F. Barr, department of Dakota; Major Herbert P. Curtis, department of California; Major Henry Goodfellow, in charge of Claims Division, War Department; Major David G. Swain, department of the Missouri; Major Asa B. Gardner, professor of law at the United States Military Academy.

The labors of the Bureau of Military Justice are of the utmost importance, oftentimes of exciting interest, and of very great magnitude. "Important as is the duty," says Judge Advocate-General Dunn, in the pamphlet already quoted, "of properly reviewing the proceedings of military courts, before which are often raised questions of law of considerable difficulty, and whose sentences may involve the most serious consequences to the parties tried, it is rather the other branch of the business of the bureau which has given to the office of judge advocate-general its principal consequence. He is in effect the law officer of the War Department, holding practically the same position of general advisory counsel to the Secretary of War, as is held by the several solicitors or assistant attorneys-general towards the chiefs of the executive departments to which they are attached. Such

was peculiarly the relation between General Holt and Secretary Stanton, and his successors, and this relation has not since been materially modified. Thus the faithful and efficient performance of his duties by the judge advocate-general properly requires, in connection with a familiarity with the principles and practice of the special and limited code known as the law military, that general expert knowledge of law as a science which can only be acquired by a professional education and experience." There can be no doubt that these purely legal duties give to the bureau an importance appreciated and understood by but few persons.

The magnitude of the labors of the bureau may be shown by the statement of a few facts. Records of military courts arrive at the bureau at the rate of about forty on every week-day, or twelve thousand in the year. These nearly all have to be examined to see if any revision be required. About two hundred and twenty-five thousand such records have been received and revised by the bureau since September, 1862, and about three hundred thousand are on file in the office. The number of reports and opinions, not a few of them of great elaboration and research, is about thirty-five thousand for the same period. Several large apartments are required for mere store-room for these files. In one of these apartments is a large iron safe, in which are preserved several relics of rare interest. Here is the Derringer pistol with which the assassin killed President Lincoln. The fatal bullet is also preserved, with pieces of the martyr's skull, which clung to it on removal from the brain. The assassin's hat, left in the theatre,

his diary, and other bits of property which belonged to him, are carefully preserved. In a cabinet near by are the two famous carbines which Mrs. Surratt called "shooting-irons." Many relics which belonged to Payne and Atzerott are also retained. It thus happens that a visit to the apartments of the bureau will give one something like a just idea of the magnitude and varied character of its labors, for in these vast files one sees records of hundreds of thousands of military causes, from cases of mere peccadillo and jealousy to those which the nation watched with breathless interest, greatest, most exciting of all being the trial of the conspirators for that fearful crime which makes one of "the bloodiest pictures in the book of time," and which is brought again so vividly before the mind by looking upon the relics here preserved.

IV. THE SIGNAL OFFICE.

This bureau, so indispensable in war, so invaluable to the public in peace and war, so interesting in science, is also of recent origin. As an adjunct of the army, it is less than a score of years old; as an independent bureau of the War Department, it was not established until during the secretaryship of General Belknap.

The system of communicating intelligence by signals, using flags during the day and lights during the night, was practically instituted during the early part of the war of the rebellion. But at first the idea was not heartily approved by military men generally, perhaps for the reason that the system was offered to the War Department and the army while in a crude state, before it had been sufficiently matured

in the minds of its projectors to be entitled to the respectful consideration which it would have received, had it been offered after more reflection, experiment, and study. But there was an idea in it, and sooner or later an idea triumphs. So much did the government have upon its hands, however, that it is not to be harshly blamed for being a little slow in seeing the advantages of a system of communicating intelligence by signals. "Oh, the telegraph will do," said a noted officer; "we can't bother with these balloons, and whirligig flags, and colored lamps, and fourth-of-July fireworks!" He failed to perceive that the military telegraph lay at the very foundation of the signal system, the signals being brought into use only where telegraphic communication was impracticable. This truth being once discovered, there was little further delay in the adoption of the system by the government.

That the signal corps performed most valuable service during the war all men know. It was used to notable advantage in very many instances. A graphic account of its use is given by General Sherman in his Memoirs, where he describes the heroic defense of Allatoona Pass by General John M. Corse. "From Kenesaw," he says, "I ordered the Twenty-third Corps (General Cox) to march due west, and to burn houses or piles of brush [signals] as it progressed, to indicate the head of column, hoping to interpose this corps between Hood's main army at Dallas and the detachment then assailing Allatoona. The rest of the army was directed straight for Allatoona, north-west, distant eighteen miles. The signal-officer on Kenesaw reported that since daylight he

had failed to obtain any answer to his call for Allatoona; but, while I was with him, he caught a faint glimpse of the tell-tale flag through an embrasure, and after much time he made out these letters: 'C.,' 'R.,' 'S.,' 'E.,' 'H.,' 'E.,' 'R.,' and translated the message: 'Corse is here.' It was a source of great relief, for it gave me the first assurance that General Corse had received his orders, and that the place was adequately garrisoned. I watched with painful suspense the indications of the battle raging there, and was dreadfully impatient at the slow progress of the relieving column whose advance was marked by the smokes which were made according to orders; but about 2 P. M. I noticed with satisfaction that the smoke of battle about Allatoona grew less and less, and ceased altogether about 4 P. M. For a time I attributed the result to General Cox's march, but later in the afternoon the signal-flag announced the welcome tidings that the attack had been fairly repulsed, but that General Corse was wounded."[1]

Allatoona was only one of many instances in which the signal corps rendered vital service to the army during the late war, but unhappily the graphic pen of Sherman has not related them all. For this

[1] Memoirs of General Sherman, II., 147. The defense of Allatoona by General Corse was one of the most brilliant achievements of the war, and the success of the defense was not a little due to the aid of the signal corps. On the day after the battle, General Sherman issued an order in which he said: "The thanks of this army are due and are hereby tendered to General Corse, Colonel Tourtelotte, Colonel Rowett, officers and men, for their determined and gallant defense of Allatoona," and made the defense an example to be followed by the army generally.

bureau of the War Department "the signal office" is so far a misnomer that it indicates but a small part of the duties performed by the office, even leaving out its scientific functions altogether. Before the bureau as an independent branch of the Department was established, the signal corps was very much more than a signal corps. It was the medium of communication between all parts of the military establishment, — between the War Department and commanders in the field; between different armies; between different corps in the same army. It is true that the corps did not at once, or even speedily after it was incorporated into the army, attain this importance. Not long after the commencement of the war, the government had by necessity established a system of military telegraphs; for it would be most preposterous in this age for a nation to undertake to carry on war without control of this means of communicating intelligence. It presently became apparent that there was no necessity for two establishments with the same object — namely, the communication of intelligence. Hence the office of military telegraphs passed out of existence, leaving its duties to be performed by the signal corps, as the appropriate intelligence branch of the army. This line of duties even more appropriately pertains to the signal service office, since its establishment as a bureau not only of technical intelligence for the army, but also of meteorological intelligence for the country and the whole world.

Brevet Brigadier-General Albert J. Myer, Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army, is the founder of the original signal corps, and of the sig-

nal service as now established by law. General Myer originally entered the army as a surgeon, in 1854. He gave much study and labor, scientific and practical, to a system of signals for the communication of intelligence in the field, and a short time before the war of the rebellion was commissioned a signal officer of the army. He did very much to establish the signal service corps, which, long before the war closed, was regarded as a necessary portion of every army. He began his labors in the army for the defense of Washington, being then on the staff of General Irvin McDowell, and during the war personally supervised the organization and operations of the corps, both in the armies of the East and the armies of the West. His personal services and those of the corps were no less conspicuous at Hanover Court-House and Malvern Hill than they were at Allatoona. Under his personal teaching, signal studies were also introduced at the Military Academy, and have ever since formed a part of the curriculum, regarded as of no less importance than the study of gunnery or of mathematics.

As has been already stated, the military telegraphs established during the earlier periods of the war, naturally passed under the jurisdiction of the signal corps, when the special corps, by which they had been managed, was disbanded. And it is a noteworthy fact, that these telegraphic lines have been greatly increased since the war. In the year 1877, a total length of three thousand two hundred miles of telegraphic lines was operated and maintained, as it had been constructed, by the officers and enlisted men of the signal service in Texas and the Territories of

New Mexico and Arizona.[1] In the year 1878, several hundred miles of line were constructed in Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana. These telegraphic lines are authorized by acts of Congress, from time to time, for the avowed purpose "of connecting military posts and stations, and for the protection of the populations from Indian and other depredations." With respect to the value of these lines of telegraph as a protection against Indians, General Myer says:

"A telegraph line well worked, forms one of the most efficient of barriers against the raids of Indian war parties. The country on our frontier through which such parties pass, has but few points at which water can be had. The posts occupied by the army are scattered along the line at intervals of several hundreds of miles. The object in view, with Indian war parties, is to pass between the posts and settlements without disturbing any of them; and they very much dread to leave any danger in their rear, or to so alarm the country as to cause their retreat to be cut off in their return towards the region occupied by their tribe. The existence of the telegraph line enhances both these dangers. It is useless to break it as the parties pass towards the scene of their incursion, for this alarms both the posts or settlements on both sides of the break, and brings repair-men and guards at once to the point of the break, and upon their trail; nor does it stop communication between the posts, for the messages may be sent circuitously by other wires perhaps covering hundreds of miles of distance around the point at which the line has been disabled. If the wire is not broken when the trail passes the line, the troops can of course be very readily called upon whenever the number of the parties may be discovered. But even if the line is passed safely and the trail is not detected, the danger the electric wires cause is not ended. Wherever the party may strike, if the blow falls near any settlement or station connected with the telegraphic network, the alarm becomes in a few hours general. The troops on the line they have just passed know there is a war party in the field; other

[1] Rep. of Ch. Sig. Off., 1877, p. 143.

troops and other settlements can be aroused. The line of the Indian retreat, the points they must pass to reach water, are approximately known, and while the pursuit goes on in the field, other forces can occupy these passes and points in advance of the flying tribe. There can be no constructions more important for holding a frontier, or protecting the first steps of advancing civilization, than the telegraphic lines. In a number of cases occurring in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, since the date of the last annual report, the movements of troops and of material, directed by telegraph, upon alarms sent by telegraph from settlements, upon the frontier system of lines, have been so timely as to have attained results which could not, without the rapid action made possible by the lines, been hoped for. How much of life or property has been saved by attacks thus guarded against, and which might else have been made on defenseless communities, can be conjectured only." [1]

As connected with this branch of the subject, it may be remarked that the signal service coöperates with the life-saving service of the Treasury Department, whose labors in saving life and property on our sea-board have received the grateful appreciation of Christendom, and, at last, of Congress. The length of the sea-coast lines of telegraph constructed and operated by the signal service office, in connection with the life-saving service, is more than six hundred miles, much of the distance along dreary and barren coasts, whose severe storms frequently prostrate the lines, making great labor constantly necessary during about half of the year, and at frequent intervals during the remainder. Nevertheless, all the stations of the sea-coast signal service — at lighthouses and life-saving stations — being connected with the chief signal office at Washington, any ordinary prostration of wires does not break communica-

[1] Rep. Ch. Sig. Off. for 1877, pp. 143, 144.

tion. "In cases during the year just passed," says the latest published report of General Myer, "messages have been transmitted for weeks together over extensive breaks of wire-lines reaching past inlets, by day and night signals with flags and torches." The amount of property saved every year by the quick conveyance of intelligence by the signal service office, and the practical, skilled labors of the employés of the life-saving service, probably amounts to more than the entire cost of maintaining both these establishments for two years. Large numbers of lives are also annually saved.

A most interesting instance of the manner and value of the coöperative labors of these two branches of the service is thus related by General Myer:

"On March 21, a storm of unusual severity was signalled from the central office, as threatening the middle Atlantic coast of the United States. On the morning of the 22d, when the fog had lifted, Sergeant Stein, of the signal service, then in charge of the station at Cape Henry, discovered a large vessel stranded on a dangerous shoal off that station; he at once notified the wreckers of Norfolk, and reported the fact to this office. Nothing was known, at that time, of the nationality of the vessel, the port from which she had sailed, her cargo, or condition. The life-boat from the life-saving station was driven back while attempting to reach her. With the earliest light the sergeant displayed at his station the attention-flags of the international code—a code which ought to be legible by the marine of every nation, and with which every sea-coast station of the signal service is supplied. The answering signals soon flew from the stranded ship, and it was telegraphed by flags of the international code that the vessel was the English ship Winchester, which had sailed from Liverpool in ballast, bound for Norfolk, McDonald, master, with a crew of twenty-seven men. The captain further desired that two steam-tugs should be telegraphed for, at the nearest port, to come to his assistance.

"This message was at once sent to Norfolk, by electric telegraph, by the men of the signal service, who were keeping up at the same time communication by code-flags with the endangered vessel. The official signature of the sergeant in charge of the station was a sufficient authority to the wrecking steamers telegraphed for to start to the rescue. By the same electric wires the facts were at the same time telegraphed to the central office at Washington, whence, being communicated to the life-saving and other departments, the whole force of the United States could, if needed, have been brought into action. The work went on at Cape Henry, the vessel asking, by signal, that a safety-line might be fired to them, and the life-saving service making the attempt. The range was, however, too great. Later in the day, a line was floated ashore from the ship, a life-car put in operation, and a number of the crew landed. The crew were reported all safe. Before sundown, as the storm diminished, active efforts to save the ship had commenced. A part of the crew remaining on board, a plan of night-signals was arranged, which, shown from the vessel, should call for the launching of the life-boat to bring them off, in case of need, in the night.

"The next morning, March 23, the captain of the vessel came on shore, the life-car being still kept working to the vessel. The men of the crew were sent back to aid the wrecking parties as soon as the sea should permit the steamers to approach the vessel. The work commenced on March 23, and was continued on March 24. On March 24, the cautionary signal was again ordered up at the station, another storm-area then approaching from the southern Atlantic coast, and especial warnings were sent to the ship and those employed on her to take such precautions as would enable them to land in case of danger. On the evening of March 25 a violent storm, with very heavy sea-swell, had reached Cape Henry. On the morning of March 26 it still continued, and, with the light, the sergeant in charge of the station discovered three barks stranded near the Winchester, all within a mile of each other. The storm continued violent. The wreckers at Norfolk were at once telegraphed the new disaster, and the facts related to the chief signal office at Washington. The 'attention-signal' was again flown for the bark which seemed most in danger. No attention was paid to it. Soon after the main and mizzen masts of the bark were carried away. The life-boat could not reach

her. Later, her name was read by a telescope as the Pantzer, and the crew of the life-saving station succeeded in firing a life-line over her. There was something strange in the fact that while the danger seemed great the crew neither recognized the signal kept flying, nor hauled in on the life-line, their only chance for safety. A surf-boat from the wreckers succeeded in boarding the other stranded barks, and found them to be the Italian barks Franceshino and Monte Tabor. Telegrams were sent by the signal service men to Baltimore, asking for additional aid, anchors, cables, and tugs.

"Late in the day, and some time in the afternoon, the Pantzer showed the 'answering signal' of the international code. The vessel was then ascertained to be a Norwegian bark, and it is supposed her crew had not before realized that on a foreign coast she could ask for aid. Almost immediately after her signal was answered, the Pantzer signalled, 'Please send a life-boat.' In response to this, the signal station showed the signal, 'Haul in on the line;' it seeming that in all the danger the crew of the bark were not aware of the uses of this line, which had been fired across her deck early in the morning. The line was at once hauled on board the Pantzer, the crews of the life-saving stations had made the life-car ready, and by nine o'clock at night her crew, eleven men all told, were safely landed. In the rough weather which followed, this vessel went to pieces. Of the others the ship Winchester was gotten off after some days' labor, and the two barks, Franceshino and Monte Tabor, saved without great difficulty.

"The incidents of these disasters have been cited at length to show in how many ways the non-commissioned officers and men of the service may be called upon to act, and how, in a single instance, the service of one station may be instrumental in saving human life and property of very great value. Had no signal service existed, there would have been no telegraphic wire to Cape Henry; had there been telegraphic wires to Cape Henry without the signal service, there would have been no non-commissioned officer or men capable of at once working the electric wires, and of communicating with vessels by international signals. Had either of these been wanting, it is quite likely that very valuable vessels would have been totally lost, because aid could not have been quickly enough called for from adjacent ports, nor could the

efforts of the salvors have been wisely or safely directed without the constant knowledge of the weather-changes, had, as they were, during all the time the vessels were endangered. The crew of the Pantzer could not have learned how to draw on board of their vessel the life-car, and might have perished. The wreckers would not have been present, as they were, to aid in the unusual case of four vessels stranded together, and the crews of the life-saving stations could not have had, as they did, the immediate supervision of their chief (the chief of the life-saving service) at Washington. As a test of skill exercised in communication, it is pleasant to consider that vessels of two different nations, the English and the Norwegian, sailing from distant ports, and finding themselves together in distress on the coast of the United States, found also such provision there made, that each could make known his wants, each in his own language, as if on their own coasts at home."[1]

Nor is the value of these services to be estimated by the amount of property and the number of lives saved only, great as this estimation as matter of business and matter of philanthropy ought to be. They are a powerful reënforcement to a system of light-houses in inducing foreign commerce to seek our ports. On this point, General Myer speaks with a comprehensive logic, to which there is no reply. He says:

"It is held to be necessary to maintain these lines, and it is needed to determine what location and structure will serve this end. To be as useful as it ought to be, a sea-coast line must be practically on the sea-beach itself. Whatever may be the difficulties of maintaining it, these difficulties must be faced. There is no time for the slow pace of messengers, or for horses ridden through the sand, when wrecked ships are calling for aid. The lightning-message is not too speedy. The saving of a single ship

[1] Report of Sec'y of War, 1877, Vol. IV. (Rep. of Ch. Sig. Off.), pp. 139, 140.

or a single life compensates the cost for repairs exceptional gales and sea-surges, tearing away the soil of the beach itself, may make necessary. The progress of electric communication opens fields of usefulness now so wide, that it would be criminal to turn from them. The regular sea-coast line once standing, the telephone bids fair to make it possible to speak to every point on the beach, or to every wrecked vessel, to which a line can be thrown or carried. The time is not far distant, when the possession of a coast not covered by a sea-coast telegraph, not guarded by a sea-coast storm-signal and signal-service, and not supplied with the force and means of aid at life-saving stations, will be held as much an evidence of semi-barbarism as is now among civilized nations the holding of any national coast without a system of light-house lights. Foreign commerce will flow towards the safest coast. Domestic commerce will there be more remunerative. The United States have first taken the first steps for such protections. So far as is known at this office, they do not regret it." [1]

The practical result is as reasoned by the chief of the bureau. Large numbers of mariners of about all the maritime nations of the world, are constantly visiting our ports in ballast for the purpose of securing cargoes for foreign countries, and they generally aver that one cause of their coming hither is the exceptional safety of our coast, as protected by our light-houses and guarded by the officers and men of the life-saving and signal service corps. The general depression of trade which has existed in the United States since the unhappy financial panic of September, 1873, has received sympathy, by like depression, among most peoples of the commercial world. It is agreed by the most thoughtful minds of the republic, that our nation has been emerging from this situation of depression since the summer

[1] Report of Sec'y of War, 1877, Vol. IV. (Rep. of Ch. Sig. Off.), p. 142.

of 1878;[1] and it is certain that several powerful commercial nations have become envious of our rapidly-extending foreign trade. The fortunate increase of this trade is mainly due to the great enterprise of our merchants, manufacturers, and shippers, — for our commercial laws hinder rather than aid our commerce — but is also in no small degree due to that preëminent safety of life and property which exists along our sea-coast by reason of the labors of the life-saving and signal service corps of the government, a knowledge of which safety is now in the possession of intelligent mariners of all countries.

It is to be observed that the signal service office, with respect to its management of military telegraphs and with regard also to others of its important operations, was originally a growth or development of military science which Congress eventually recognized but did not create. This interesting bureau is the child of the War Department and the army, the adopted child of the national legislature. Like "Topsy," in the greatest of American stories, "it growed," and then Congress, by act approved March 3, 1875, recognized it as it had been organized by the labors of General Myer and his assistants, with

[1] See the speeches of President Hayes in the interior, during the autumn of that year, notably his address at St. Paul, and that before the Board of Trade of Chicago; the speech of Secretary of War McCrary at Keokuk, Sept. 10; of Secretary of the Navy Thompson, at Indianapolis, the same day; the speeches delivered later, of Secretary of the Interior Schurz, at Cincinnati and Boston; the speech of Secretary of State Evarts at New York; several speeches of the same period by Gen. Garfield, Senators Bayard, Blaine, and Conkling; and leading editorial articles in the best metropolitan daily journals of the country.

whom the Secretary of War and the General of the Army had all the time most heartily coöperated. Joint resolutions of Congress had also recognized as proper and lawful the organization and labors of what the act of Congress just referred to formally established as the signal service office, a bureau of the War Department under the direct orders of the Secretary.

For the general purposes of this work, and without reference to technicalities, the signal service office may be described as embracing the following branches or divisions: I. The School of Instruction; II. The Signal Corps, proper; III. Military Telegraph division, in which may be well enough comprehended the sea-coast service; IV. The Meteorological division, which might itself be divided into a number of branches, each having duties and labors different from all the others. For the appropriate division of labor in the bureau, its technical branches are very different from these, but these will serve better for description, perhaps, than those.

I. The school of instruction in signal service is established at Fort Whipple, Virginia, occupying a portion of the famed "Arlington estate," and within plain view of the city of Washington. This school is to the signal service office what the military academy is to the army generally, with this difference, that it teaches men who are to serve without commissions as well as officers. The instructions at Fort Whipple are greatly varied, embracing practical drills in arms; in the manœuvring of field telegraph trains; in rapid telegraph construction; in the management of all the apparatus pertaining to the signal corps in

the field; in the study and use of instruments for the meteorological duties; in practical telegraphy. All the duties of the school are conducted under strict military rule. At the time of the last published report of the chief signal officer, fifty-one enlisted men were present at Fort Whipple for duty, drilling and studying to become proficient in the labors of the signal office.

II. Of the signal corps proper, as instituted and established by General Myer, an account has already been given. Officers and enlisted men of this corps, or those detailed as such, are always present with the army, and in time of peace are frequently called upon for their peculiar services. But it is during war that this corps comes to the front as an invaluable aid in the prosecution of successful campaigns, which is an unanswerable reason for its being liberally nurtured and sustained during peace.

III. Of the military telegraph division and the sea-coast service, enough has already been related to enable the reader to form a correct notion of them. It remains to speak of that division of the bureau which has given it universal popularity throughout the republic, and great renown throughout the civilized world, namely:

IV. The meteorological division, and which is of itself a notable institution of science, daily conferring great benefits upon the public. The head of this institution is popularly known the country over as "Old Probabilities," the first name having been unquestionably adopted by the popular instinct as expressive of veneration for him who directed the prediction of the weather with an accuracy never before

dreamed of. On February 9, 1870, President Grant approved a joint resolution of the houses of Congress as follows: "That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, authorized and required to provide for taking meteorological observations at the military stations in the interior of the continent, and at other points in the States and Territories of the United States, and for giving notice on the Northern lakes and on the sea-coast, by magnetic telegraph and marine signals, of the approach and force of storms." Under the authority thus conferred, Secretary of War Belknap directed the chief signal officer to proceed with the organization of what has been largely denominated "the weather bureau." Much of this organization had already been accomplished in the simple development of the signal service under the creative genius of General Myer.

The complete organization of the bureau now rapidly proceeded, and was ready for practical operations in the autumn of 1870. "On November 1, 1870, at 7.35 A. M., the first systematized synchronous meteoric reports ever taken in the United States were read from the instruments by the observer-sergeants of the signal service at twenty-four stations, and placed upon the telegraphic wires for transmission. With the delivery of these reports at Washington, and at the other cities and forts to which it had been arranged they should be sent — which delivery was made by 9 A. M. — commenced the practical working of this division of the signal service in this country."[1] On January 15, 1871, stations on the east Atlantic

[1] Rep. of Ch. Sig. Off., in Rep. of Sec'y of War for 1871, Part I., p. 262.

coast were added to the list of those reporting; the section from Chicago to San Francisco, early in February; and stations on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, during the summer of the same year. Thus within a twelvemonth "the weather bureau" became a thoroughly national institution. In addition to the stations for the collection and report of what may be called ordinary meteoric phenomena, no less than twenty-four "cautionary signal stations" were established within the same twelvemonth. These were at as many seaports and ports on the Northern lakes, and their duties involved a constant vigilance, without cessation day or night, on Sunday or holiday. These cautionary signal stations were ready for operation on the 23d of October, and the first occasion for their employment occurred three days afterwards, at the port of Oswego, New York. The cautionary signal — always placed on an elevated building or tower, so as to be seen throughout the city and harbor — is never displayed except on order from the chief office at Washington. The cautionary signal signifies the probability, not the certainty, of dangerous weather near the station where it is displayed, and that, judging from all the meteoric phenomena as reported at the central office, the danger may be so great as to cause mariners, and others interested, properly to use reasonable precautions against it.

Thus, in a week less than a twelvemonth from the publication of its first reports from twenty-four stations, "the weather bureau" was completely organized, and operating as steadily as clock-work throughout the Union — from Maine to Texas, and from

Florida to Washington Territory. Not only so, but the operations of the bureau soon came to possess an international character, and at this hour promise soon to have their ramifications throughout the northern hemisphere. Regular daily telegraphic reports were received, according to the last published report of the bureau, from no less than twelve stations in the Dominion of Canada and British America, and mail reports from many other parts of the world. In his report for 1877, General Myer on this point says:

"The proposition adopted at the congress of persons charged with meteorological duties, assembled at Vienna in 1873, and to the effect that it is desirable, with a view to their exchange, that at least one uniform observation, of such character as to be suited for the preparation of synoptic charts, be taken and recorded daily and simultaneously at as many stations as practicable throughout the world, has continued to have practical effect.

"By authority of the War Department, and with the courteous coöperation of scientists and chiefs of meteorological services representing the different countries, a record of observations, taken daily simultaneously with the observations taken throughout the United States and the adjacent islands, is exchanged semi-monthly. These reports are to cover the territorial extent of Algiers, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Central America, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, East Indies, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, British North America, the United States, the Azores, the Bermudas, the Aleutian Islands, Sandwich Islands, West Indies, and South America.

"The daily issue of a printed bulletin, exhibiting these international simultaneous reports, commenced at this office in 1875, has been since maintained. A copy of this bulletin is furnished each coöperating observer. The results to be had from the reports thus collated are considered to be of especial importance. The bulletin combines, for the first time of which there is record, the labors of the nations in a work of this kind for their mutual

benefit. There is needed only the assistance to be had from the naval forces of the different powers, that of the navy of the United States being, as heretofore related, already given, to extend the plan of report upon the seas; to bring within the scope of study observations sufficiently numerous and extending around the northern hemisphere. This assistance is understood to be already promised by some of the greatest naval powers." [1]

In 1875, the operations of the bureau were extended so as to embrace daily reports by telegraph during certain portions of the year, and at all times of prevailing freshets, of the situation of the principal rivers of the United States. These river reports are intended to supply the central office with data from which, knowing the "danger line" of the streams, the bureau may warn the inhabitants of impending destructive or dangerous floods. They also have considerable importance in science. Charts of the changes in the depth of the principal rivers are published annually by the bureau. "By the study of such charts," says General Myer, "continued from year to year, those seasons in which floods are more likely to occur on any water-course can be predetermined, and it can be ascertained what amounts of precipitation, occurring in the different river-basins, and under what circumstances, will be followed by floods, and approximately what will be the extent of floods shown in this way to be anticipated. Whenever the facilities of the signal service are so far extended as to permit systematic observations to be had of any river-course, and telegraphic warnings to be given in instances of danger, the serious losses of property or life caused by floods can be, and with comparatively little ex-

[1] Page 117.

pense, guarded against on any river throughout the United States."[1]

To relate with fulness the wonderful labors of "the weather bureau" belongs rather to science than to a work of this character; but I should hardly be excused if I did not undertake to set forth an outline thereof. Much of this varied work is done by automatic instruments, many of which are among the most remarkable instances of human invention, of curious mechanism, and of the finest possible delicacy. These instruments, connected with the upper air by contrivances suitable for the different purposes in view, themselves record many meteoric phenomena, that is, the existing facts as to many things in the air — the wind, its velocity, and direction; the degree of moisture; rain or snow, measuring the quantity fallen; and many other facts. The weight and temperature of the atmosphere are discovered by instruments long known, but those of the signal service are of such improved kinds that they automatically record the history of every hour of the day in these respects. The daily routine of duty is thus described by General Myer:

"The duties of the enlisted men at each station are as follows: At stations forwarding telegraphic reports, they are required to take, put in cipher, and furnish, to be telegraphed tri-daily on each day, at different fixed times, the results of observations made at those times, and embracing, in each case, the readings of the barometer, the thermometer, the wind-velocity and direction, the rain-gauge, the relative humidity, the character, quantity, and movement of upper and lower clouds, and the condition of the weather. These observations are taken at such hours, at the different stations, as to provide the three simultaneous observations,

[1] Rep. for 1877, p. 131.

taken daily at three fixed moments of physical time (7.35 A. M., 4.35 P. M., and 11 P. M., Washington mean time), throughout the whole extent of the territory of the United States. The differences between these fixed times and the local times at the different stations, cause it to happen that at some stations the observations are to be made in the earliest hours of the morning, and at others in the latest of the night. The work thus practically extends throughout the twenty-four hours. Each of these observations is required to be carefully recorded, for future reference, at the time it is taken. Three other observations to be taken at the local times, 7 A. M., 2 P. M., and 9 P. M., are also taken and recorded at each station. A seventh and especial observation is taken and recorded at noon on each day. If, at this observation, such instrumental changes are noted as to cause anxiety, the fact is to be telegraphed to the central office at Washington.

"An eighth observation is required to be taken at the exact hour of sunset at each station. This observation, embracing the appearance of the western sky, the direction of the wind, the amount of cloudiness, the readings of the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer, and amount of rain-fall since last preceding report, is reported with the midnight report.

"At the stations at which cautionary signals are displayed, an observer must be constantly on duty to receive the order and to show the signal, which may be ordered at any moment. At stations from which river reports are furnished, and observation and record of the depth and temperature of the water is made and reported at 3 o'clock P. M., local time, on each day. In the cases of threatening storms or dangerous freshets, any station may be called upon to make hourly reports."[1]

The manner of making up the daily weather reports is as follows:

"The daily official deductions or forecasts issuing from the office of the chief signal officer, and constituting the tri-daily 'Synopses and Indications,' as they are styled, and the especial deductions, in pursuance of which the orders for the display of cautionary signals at stations are given when necessary, are based

[1] Rep. for 1877, p. 108.

upon the regular reports of the service stations of observation, transmitted tri-daily to this office by telegraph, after passing over a system of telegraphic circuits, so arranged as to at once concentrate the reports of this office, and to distribute, in doing so, certain numbers of them at designated cities and stations. Especial reports are demanded from any station, or number of stations, whenever additional information is required as to impending disturbances. The synopses are those of the meteoric conditions existing over and near the United States for each period of twenty-four hours, terminating at the hour for each general report. The indications are announcements of the changes, considered from the study of the charts, in connection with such rules and generalizations as the experience of this office and the study of meteorologists seem to have determined to be indicated as to happen within the twenty-four hours then next ensuing. The study for each issue requires the draughting and examination of eight charts, these charts exhibiting chartographically the data furnished by the simultaneous reports of the stations heretofore referred to, and located in the United States, on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the Gulf of Mexico and of the lakes, and in the Western interior, and in the Dominion of Canada, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and the West India Islands. These charts are as follows: (*a*) A chart of barometric pressures reduced to the temperature of freezing and sea-level; of temperatures and of winds, together with the wind directions, and the velocities at the different stations; the amount, but not the nature, of the cloud formations at the different stations; the character of the precipitation, if any, occurring at the time of the report, and the amount of the precipitation, if any, since the time of the last preceding report. This chart exhibits barometric pressures and the temperatures noted at stations in their relations to districts of territory and to each other, by a system of isobaric and isothermal lines inscribed. The isobars are charted for inches and tenths of inches of barometric pressure; the isothermals for temperatures represented by the different multiples of 10°. The wind directions are shown by arrows at the different stations. (*b*) A chart of the relative humidities appearing to exist over territorial districts, with the temperatures at the different stations in relation to districts and to each other. This chart of humidities enables studies to be made in reference to territorial sections, the difficulties attending the

study of observations of this character being obviated to a very considerable extent by the inter-correction of stations among themselves, and by the great extent of the regions over which the readings are made simultaneously. In fields so great, purely local conditions in part disappear, or affect very slightly the general result. This chart contains also the character and amount of the lower clouds, and the character, amount, and direction of motion of the upper clouds, when these are visible. On this chart are traced lines of equal relative humidity, and isothermals are also drawn, and described in chart *a*. (*c*) A chart of the cloud-conditions prevailing over the United States, in which the character of the different varieties of clouds and their amount, as viewed from each station, are represented graphically by appropriate symbols. On this chart also appears the weather as reported at each station at the time of each report by symbols, the station at which rain has fallen since the preceding report, as well as the direction of movement of the upper and lower clouds, and on it each morning there are entered the minimum temperatures noted during the preceding night at the separate stations, at the local times synchronous with the hour of 11 P. M., Washington mean time, and lines of minimum temperatures are traced to exhibit these temperatures in relation to districts of territory. On this map are entered also the maximum velocities of the wind at particular stations when required to be specially reported in the intervals between the hours of regular report. The cloud areas appearing on this map are surrounded by an outline charted to enable the extent and probable movement of these areas to be considered. There also appears on the copy of this chart, made at the hour of the midnight report, the appearance of the sunset at each station, as reported by the observer at that station, and as considered by him to indicate, when taken in connection with the appearance of the western sky at sunset, the character of the weather to be anticipated at that station for the twenty-four hours then next ensuing. (*d*) A chart of variations of barometric pressures corrected for temperature and reduced to the hypothetical reading at sea-level. This chart exhibits the barometric pressures at the different stations, corrected for temperature and elevation. There are shown upon it the changes that have taken place in the pressures, so corrected, within the periods of eight and of twenty-four hours preceding the hours of reports at the different stations, and

lines of 'no variation' are traced to indicate the lines along which the barometric pressure has remained without change for these periods of eight and twenty-four hours, respectively. Lines are also charted, exhibiting those along which the barometric pressures have increased, with other lines exhibiting them, along which the barometric pressures have diminished during the same period of time, a separate line being drawn for each one-tenth of an inch of increase of barometric pressure, and a separate line being drawn for each one-tenth of an inch of diminution of barometric pressure. This chart displays, at a glance, the nature and extent of the barometric changes taking place over the districts covered by the maps of this office. (*e*) A chart of actual barometric variations. 'This chart exhibits the observed readings of the barometer at different stations, corrected for instrumental error [variation from the standard at Washington] and for temperature the mercury reduced to the temperature of freezing, but not reduced to the hypothetical readings at sea-level. In this office, observed readings so treated are known as the 'actual readings.' On this chart are traced lines of 'no variation,' showing the lines along which no change in actual pressure has occurred for the periods of eight and twenty-four hours, respectively, preceding the hours of report, and also lines showing the lines of rises or falls of the actual readings of the barometer for each one-tenth of an inch, and for the same respective periods. This chart is valuable as exhibiting the nature and extent of actual barometric pressures, and the changes of such pressures, taking place at the different stations, and over the different territorial districts. (*f*) A chart of dew-point variations. On this chart there are entered the values of the changes of the dew-point at the several stations for the periods of eight and twenty-four hours, preceding the hours of report; there are traced also lines along which there has been 'no variation' in dew-point during such periods respectively, and lines showing the rises and falls for each five degrees in dew-point for the same periods. (*g*) A chart of dew-points, vapor-tensions, and actual humidity. On this chart are entered the values of the dew-point at the different stations, and lines of equal dew-point are traced for each ten degrees' difference of the dew-point readings. At the extremities of these lines are noted the values of vapor-tensions and actual humidity, corresponding to the given dew-point lines. The examination of the charts *f*

and *g* enables the hygrometric condition of the air and the changes in such conditions which have occurred within the periods of eight and twenty-four hours, respectively, to be considered in so far as these are indicated by the wet and dry bulb psychrometers at the different stations. (*h*) A chart of normal pressures and variations from normal pressures for each eight hours. There have been computed during the past year, at this office, the mean of the observed pressures recorded at each station, at each of the hours at which observations are made at that station, for the regular simultaneous telegraphic reports for each monthly period. The series of observations used in computing these means has been, for as many years as was possible, at each station. These mean pressures are the mean pressures computed from the actual readings had at each station, at the habitual hour of observation, for each of the tri-daily full telegraphic reports required to be made from that station, and obtained, as explained above, by reducing the readings then made to a uniform temperature — freezing — and correcting for instrumental error (variation from the standard) only. Mean pressures so obtained are styled, in this office, 'normal pressures' for the station, for its local hour of the report, and for the month. On this chart is entered, at each station, with the symbol +, or —, the value by which the actual reading reported from that station at the hour of any report is above or below the 'normal pressure' for that station for the hour of that telegraphic report and for that month. These deviations from such normal pressures may be styled 'departures' from the normal pressure; the comparison of these 'departures' for each period of eight hours shows what changes have taken place in the atmospheric pressure at the different stations, in each period of eight hours, after eliminating the horary variations of pressure. On the chart are traced lines of 'no variation' in normal pressures, being the lines along which the pressures are at the time practically normal, and also lines of 'departure' from the normal pressure for each one-tenth of an inch of mercury, by which the actual readings as reported are found to be above or below the computed normal. Such lines are traced for each period of eight and of twenty-four hours. This method of noting barometric pressures enables those taken and reported simultaneously from any number of different stations to be considered for purposes of study in relation to each other without reference, in each case, to

the local questions of altitude, horary variations of pressure, or other disturbing causes at the places at which they may be taken."[1]

The results of these labors of enlisted men, instruments, officers, and scientists are published three times daily, by means of charts, in the principal cities of the country, and appear regularly in all the daily newspapers. Very nearly ninety per cent. of the forecasts as to the weather in the year 1877, were verified by the event, leaving scientists to conclude that if there were communication with the entire habitable globe, there would hardly be an erroneous forecast in the course of a year.

But the tri-daily bulletins and charts form only a small portion of the regular publications of the signal service office. During the year 1877, no less than 2,024,294 "farmers' bulletins" were published. These, being different for different sections of the country, according to the prevailing meteoric phenomena for the respective sections, have been found to be of great service to the intelligent agriculturists of the country. Very many local reports are also published. The office also issues monthly weather reviews, and "weekly chronicles." The number of international bulletins published in the course of a year is nearly one hundred thousand. The total number of its publications for the year 1877, was in excess of two and a half million copies. The annual report of the office for the year 1877 and accompanying papers, was an octavo volume of nearly six hundred pages, with many illustrations, maps, and charts, from which one could gather a complete me-

[1] Rep. for 1877, p. 120 *et seq.*

teorological history of the United States for every day of the year. The value of these publications in the cause of progressive science cannot easily be overestimated. Many eminent scientists of Europe have frequently expressed the opinion that the most valuable contributions to science of recent years are the publications of the American signal service bureau. And yet this bureau, whose daily labors receive the hearty appreciation of Christendom, is in its organization and government purely military. It is doubtful whether the distinguished position in science attained by the bureau, could have been reached under any other system.

V. THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.

During much of the Revolutionary War, and for some time thereafter, the quartermaster's department of the army had better organization than it had during many years after the establishment of the government under the Constitution. For the period referred to, such men as Thomas Mifflin, Nathaniel Greene, and Timothy Pickering were among the quartermaster-generals.[1] At the time of the adop-

[1] Mifflin, though of Quaker parentage, entered the army at the outbreak of the Revolution, and for a while served in the military family of Washington. He was conspicuous in the battle of Long Island, rendering great service in the retreat. After the New Jersey campaign, he joined the opposition to Washington, and was outspoken in his views. After the war he was prominent in public affairs, and for a considerable time Governor of Pennsylvania, where his fame is still well preserved. Greene was one of the most illustrious soldiers of the Revolution. Pickering afterwards became Secretary of War. A sketch of his life is in the second part of this work.

tion of the Constitution, and for a considerable period thereafter, the army was little better than a travesty on a military force, consisting of only about a regiment of men in small detachments at different forts and garrisons, utterly unable, for want of general officers and a staff, to repel an attack of a single tribe of Indians, had such attack been made. In preceding chapters of this work, the want of staff departments, and their imperfect organization for many years, have been noted; and it will be recollected that no necessary part of a well-regulated military establishment was more neglected than a quartermaster's department. I need in this portion of the work give no more than the historical outlines pertaining to the organization of this department, and the nature and magnitude of its labors.[1]

From 1791 till 1802, the quartermaster's department, if such it could be called, had a varied history. In the year first named, Congress passed "an act for raising and adding another regiment to the military establishment, and for making further provision for the protection of the frontier." The War Department, by orders, established a line of military posts from the Ohio River, near where Cincinnati now is, to the Maumee River, being the frontier of the then far West, and it was to garrison and reënforce these posts as protection against the savages that this addition to the army was provided. A quartermaster, with the pay and allowances of a lieutenant-colonel

[1] For the statements as to the organization of the department, I mainly follow a sketch of its history (pamphlet) prepared a few years since by Brevet-Colonel H. A. Royce, A. Q. M. Vols., and pronounced reliable by Quartermaster-General Meigs.

(at that time the lieutenant-colonel was the commanding officer of a regiment), was authorized.[1] By the act of March 3, 1795,[2] a quartermaster-general, deputy quartermaster, and regimental quartermasters were provided for.[3] An act of precisely two years later, repealing in part and amending the former one, provided that there should be one quartermaster-general, and there dropped the subject. The situation thus remained till the act of March 3, 1799, organizing the army on the regimental plan, when a quartermaster-general, with the rank and pay of a major-general, and regimental quartermasters, with the rank of lieutenant, were provided for.[4] By the act of March 16, 1812,[5] fixing the military peace establishment of the United States, the quartermaster's department as such was abolished, and its duties turned over to "military agents."

In relating the general history of the War Department for the period of the war with Great Britain, it was appropriate to speak in detail of such organization of staff departments as was then made in preparation for the conflict. A full account of the organization of the quartermaster's department at that time, need not, therefore, be repeated.[6] After the war, the organization was changed from time to time during two or three years, but as we have seen in the

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 223. [2] *Ibid.*, *Id.*, 430.

[3] This might appear singular, seeing that by this act the organization of the army was on General Knox's favorite plan of the *legion*. It is explained by the fact that notwithstanding the legionary organization, regimental autonomy was practically recognized and preserved.

[4] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 750, 752. [5] *Ibid.*, II., 132.

[6] See *ante.*, Chap. II., p. 42 *et seq.*

general history of the Department under the administration of Secretary Calhoun, a comprehensive organization of such staff departments, including, of course, the quartermaster-general's office, as were then supposed to be necessary was provided by law.[1] By the law then enacted (April, 1818), the quartermaster's department consisted of a quartermaster-general, with the rank, pay, and emoluments of a brigadier-general, the two deputy quartermaster-generals, and four assistant deputy quartermaster-generals, already provided for by law, and as many assistant deputy quartermaster-generals, the whole number not exceeding twelve, as the President might deem proper. Under this well considered organization of the department, Brevet Colonel Thomas S. Jesup, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Infantry, became Quartermaster-General.[2]

General Jesup at once proceeded to prepare an amended series of rules and regulations for the practical conduct of the business of his department. It being now organized by the law, upon a sound military basis, some appropriate duties being added

[1] See *ante.*, Chap. III., p. 85 *et seq.*

[2] This officer had been distinguished as a soldier. He entered the army as lieutenant in 1808, and was gradually promoted. In 1812, he was "brigade major" and adjutant-general to General Hull. In the spring of the following year, he was commissioned major of the 19th infantry; was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for "distinguished and gallant services" at the battle of Chippewa; and brevetted colonel for like services at the battle of Niagara. Later, he was adjutant-general of the army. In 1836, he commanded the army against the Indians of the South, and was wounded in a battle with the Seminoles. He remained quartermaster-general until his death, June 10, 1860. His memory is greatly venerated in the department.

thereto, some more properly belonging to the subsistence department, taken therefrom, a thoroughly revised system for the management of its business was requisite. Under the direction and supervision of General Jesup, this system of rules and regulations, embracing practical directions and blank forms for all the varied operations of the department, was prepared. Having received the approval of the Secretary of War, this code of general law and practice for the quartermaster's department, was embodied by Major-General Scott, in the elaborate edition of "Army Regulations" published by him for the information and guidance of the army in 1821. These rules and regulations for the quartermaster's department have not been greatly changed by amendments or additions upon the subjects treated, since that time.

The department remained as organized by General Jesup a little less than three years, the act of March 2, 1821, reducing the army, reducing also this and other staff departments. The quartermaster-general was retained, and was allowed as assistants two quartermasters with the rank and pay of major of cavalry, and ten assistant quartermasters to be taken from the line. In a letter to the Secretary of War, of November 22, 1823, General Jesup thus demonstrates the insufficient force of his department, and the want of wisdom that there is in mistaking parsimony for economy:

"In 1820, when the military frontier was not so extensive as at present, there were attached to the department, in addition to the quartermaster-general and two deputies, sixteen assistants, besides eighteen regimental and battalion quartermasters. The act of Congress of March, 1821, reorganizing the army, abolished the

regimental and battalion quartermasters, and reduced the number of assistants from sixteen to ten; so that, of thirty-seven officers, thirteen only were retained. The same act reduced the purchasing department to one commissary-general and two storekeepers, and the duties relative to the administration and accountability of army clothing were necessarily transferred to the quartermaster's department, thus nearly doubling its labors and responsibility, though its force had been reduced nearly two-thirds. The law, it is true, authorized the employment of subsistence commissaries in the quartermaster's department, but they have the duties of their own department to perform, which, at stations where their services are most necessary, give them sufficient employment; besides, the experience of every department proves that the only way to insure strict accountability is to confine officers to the duties of their own branches of service, to compel them to perform them, and positively to prohibit their interference with those of others.

"The reduction of the rank and file of the army from ten thousand to six thousand men by no means warranted a corresponding reduction in the disbursing departments, for it is well known to every intelligent military man that the labors of most branches of the staff, and particularly of the quartermaster's department, depend not on the number of troops in service, but on the number and remoteness of the posts occupied, the extent of the frontiers, and the dispersed state of the military resources of the nation.

"The officers at present attached to the department are entirely inadequate to the proper and efficient discharge of the duties required of them; and the compensation of the assistants, on whom necessarily devolve most of the laborious details of the department, does not bear a just proportion to their duties and responsibility. The officers of that grade now in the department are equal in capacity and intelligence to those of any other grade or corps in the army, but I fear that, unless measures be adopted to render their situation more desirable, they will for the most part abandon their situations and return to their companies. They should be allowed a compensation which would not only afford them a competent support, but be an equivalent for the talents and labor required in the discharge of their duties. But, it may be said, let those who are dissatisfied retire; there are others who

would gladly fill their places. True, there are; and if the importance of a station depended upon the number of applicants to fill it, and the merit of those applicants upon the clamorous assertion of their pretensions, this might be good reasoning. But every day's experience proves that the number of applicants does not depend upon the value of the station sought: reduce the compensation one-half, and they would not be diminished. The difference would then consist in the character, and not in the number; for even if an office be set up to the *lowest bidder*, there will always be bidders enough.

"I would, therefore, propose that in addition to the officers now attached to the department, there be authorized three quartermasters and eight assistants, to be taken from the line of the army. This change, with an allowance of forage to the assistants by presenting sufficient inducements to men of character to enter and remain in the department, would better secure a strict accountability than all the restrictive laws on the statute-book. It is called for by every consideration of policy as well as economy; for the best guarantee the nation can have for the proper application of its funds will be found in the honor, intelligence, and abilities of its officers. Let it not be said that the system of bonding affords this guarantee; experience proves the contrary. It may secure the payment of duties at the custom-house, or afford ultimate security against defaulters, but can never insure good faith in the public expenditures."[1]

These considerations were not deemed sufficient at the time to warrant the enlargement of the department; but by act of Congress, approved May 18, 1826, the department received additional jurisdiction and additional force. This act provided, "That it shall be the duty of the quartermaster's department, in addition to its present duties, to receive from the purchasing department, and distribute to the army, all clothing and camp and garrison equipage required for the use of the troops; and that it shall be the

[1] Quoted by Col. Royce. Sketch of Q. M. Dep't, 25, 26.

duty of the quartermaster-general, under the direction of the Secretary of War, to prescribe and enforce, under the provisions of this act, a system of accountability for all clothing and equipage issued to the army. * That the better to enable the quartermaster's department to carry into effect the provisions of this act, there be appointed two additional quartermasters and ten assistant quartermasters." The rank and pay of these additional officers were the same as provided for like officials by the existing law.[1] This charge of the clothing, camp, and garrison equipage of the army, has ever since belonged, where it should have been placed in the beginning, to the quartermaster's department. Later, when the anomalous "purchasing department" was abolished, the whole business pertaining to these species of army *materiel* properly was assigned to the same department. This was in 1842.

The organization of the department remained, as established by the act of 1826, about twelve years, when the military establishment, in view of threatened complications with Great Britain, was considerably enlarged, and with it the staff departments generally. As to the department whose history is now in review, the law provided:

"SECTION 9. That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to add to the quartermaster's department not exceeding two assistant quartermaster-generals, with the rank of colonel; two deputy quartermaster-generals, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and eight assistant quartermasters, with the rank of captain; that the assistant quartermasters now in service shall

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IV., 173–74.

have the same rank as is provided by this act for those hereby authorized; and that the pay and emoluments of the officers of the quartermaster's department shall be the same as are allowed to officers of similar rank in the regiment of dragoons: *Provided*, That all appointments in the quartermaster's department shall be made from the army, and when officers taken for such appointments hold rank in the line, *they shall thereupon relinquish said rank, and be separated from the line of the army*, and that promotion in said department shall take place as in regiments and corps.

"SECTION 10. That the quartermaster-general be, and he is hereby, authorized from time to time to employ as many forage-masters and wagon-masters as he may deem necessary for the service, not exceeding twenty in the whole, who shall be entitled to receive each forty dollars per month, and three rations per day, and forage for one horse; and neither of whom shall be interested or concerned, directly or indirectly, in any wagon or other means of transport employed by the United States, nor in the purchase or sale of any property procured for or belonging to the United States, except as an agent for the United States."[1]

No change of special note was made in the organization of the department from this time until the Mexican war. Its force was increased in 1846 and again in 1847. At the close of the war, the department consisted of the quartermaster-general; two assistant quartermaster-generals, with the rank of colonel; two deputy quartermaster-generals, with rank of lieutenant-colonel; four quartermasters with rank of major; twenty-eight assistant quartermasters with rank of captain; and seven military store keepers. Such continued to be the organization of the department until the war of the rebellion. On the death of General Jesup in 1860, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph E. Johnston, First Cavalry, was appointed quartermaster-

[1] Act of July 5, 1838, U. S. Stat. at Large, V., 257–58. An act of two days later repealed the line in sec. 9 in *Italics*.

general. In April of the following year he resigned.[1] He was succeeded by Colonel M. C. Meigs, Eleventh Infantry, appointed quartermaster-general in June, 1861, to date from the previous 15th of May.[2]

[1] Joseph E. Johnston was born in Virginia in 1807. On his mother's side he is a grand-nephew of Patrick Henry. He was graduated from the Military Academy in 1829. Served with credit in the Indian wars in Florida, and with distinguished gallantry in the Mexican war, and was several times brevetted. On leaving the Union army, he was immediately appointed a general in the Confederate service, being second on the list. He was distinguished at Bull Run, in the campaign of Richmond, 1862, that of Vicksburgh, and throughout the campaign of Atlanta till near its close, when he was relieved of the chief command by Hood. He surrendered his entire army to General Sherman, April 26, 1865. He is now (1879) a member of Congress from Virginia.

[2] Montgomery C. Meigs was born at Augusta, Georgia, May 3, 1816, but his parents removed to Pennsylvania during his infancy. He was graduated at the Military Academy at the age of twenty, and assigned to the artillery, between which corps and the engineers he was transferred and re-transferred two or three times in a few years, but at length permanently settled in the latter corps, and was commissioned a first lieutenant therein in 1838; a captain in 1853. He remained in this corps until the breaking out of the Rebellion, when he was commissioned Colonel of the Eleventh Infantry, from which he was almost immediately promoted, as stated in the text, to the head of the quartermaster's department. While in the corps of engineers, Captain Meigs was engaged on some of the most notable public works of the country, at Fort Delaware, Fort Wayne, Detroit, Washington City. The National Capitol, the Washington aqueduct and water-works, the Post Office Department, were largely constructed under his supervision. Since he has been quartermaster-general, that department has performed some of the most remarkable achievements in the transportation and supply of armies of all military history, as we shall presently relate. Besides his great accomplishments in military science, General Meigs is a man of general learning, and a recognized authority in several of the practical sciences.

During the war of the rebellion, the regular organization of the quartermaster's department was not so much enlarged as might naturally be supposed by most persons in reflecting upon the immense number of troops which were brought into the field. By an act of Congress of the 3d of August, 1861, "for the better organization of the military establishment," there were added to this department: one assistant quartermaster-general, with the rank of colonel; two deputy quartermaster-generals, with rank one grade below; four quartermasters, with rank of major; and twenty assistant quartermasters, with rank of captain. And this was about all the actual augmentation made to the regular corps during that tremendous conflict of arms. But the numerical force employed by the department was, of course, very greatly augmented by the addition of large numbers of clerks and other employés. During much of the war the persons in the service of the quartermaster's department would have made an army larger than Washington ever had under his immediate command. Moreover, the different acts of Congress authorizing the calling out of volunteers, provided for a quartermaster and a quartermaster-sergeant in each regiment, so that the volunteer corps in the service of the department, and under its direct orders, was in itself immense. It is still further to be considered that the varying exigencies of the service constantly made necessary very many acting quartermasters, hundreds of such being on duty among the volunteers at all times during the war. Thus, though the regular corps was but slightly increased, the working force of the department was immensely augmented.

It is not easy to describe, within limits to which one must necessarily be confined in a work of this general nature, the actual labors of the quartermaster's department during the war of the rebellion. A few illustrations may serve to suggest an outline of the comprehensive whole. It is the business of the department, as we have seen, to supply the army with clothing. A principal depot for clothing during the war was at Philadelphia, Colonel George H. Crosman, Assistant Quartermaster-General, in charge. He alone frequently disbursed millions of money in a month for purchases of army clothing. His operations were many times larger than those of the largest business establishment we have ever had in the United States. Until his death in 1863, Colonel Daniel D. Tompkins was Assistant Quartermaster-General at New York, and the principal officer of the department in that great financial, commercial, and railway centre. Here vast quantities of stores, supplied by the quartermaster's department, were purchased and shipped by rail or vessel to the front. It was also the *entrepôt* for most of the troops enlisted in New England and New York, for whom the quartermaster's department at New York must furnish transportation to the armies in the field. There were large numbers of ocean steamships and sailing vessels chartered by Colonel Tompkins, and constantly in use by the government for the transportation of men and supplies. Colonel Tompkins was succeeded by General Stewart Van Vliet, who conducted this immense business until after the close of the war. These distinguished officers disbursed hundreds of millions of money without letting any of

it get away. I recollect that Major J. A. Potter was the principal officer of the department at Chicago, the most important railway centre of the North-west. The labors of this office were very great and varied. It supplied transportation to the front for many thousands of troops from Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Northern Indiana, and Northern Iowa; for vast quantities of subsistence and medical supplies and forage; and for great numbers of horses and mules. Colonel Robert Allen had similar great business to conduct at St. Louis, with this difference, that a large part of his transportation of men and supplies was done by river steamers, St. Louis being the great steamboat centre of the interior, as Chicago is that of railways. During a considerable part of the war, the department had in charter several hundred steamboats on the rivers of the Mississippi Valley, not a few of which could transport, at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, two or three regiments of troops. The labors of the department at Cincinnati were similar to those at St. Louis. Besides, officers were stationed at many cities of less note, for the purchase and forwarding of stores and animals. Columbus, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana, were important quartermaster's depots in all respects, each being a general rendezvous for troops of a large section of country. Vast quantities of corn and oats, and great numbers of horses and mules, were sent to the army from Indianapolis. At Evansville, in the same State, hundreds of thousands of tons of hay were bought for the army. From Pittsburgh were sent to the army hundreds of siege-guns, and other stores, manufactured in that busy city. Thus, that

all the varied labors of the department might be done with the utmost dispatch and economy, it had offices at all convenient points in the country. The city of Baltimore was a very important quartermaster's depot, where a vast amount of business was conducted, at first, by Major James Belger, and later, upon his being relieved, by Major Morris S. Miller. It goes for the saying that prodigious labors were required of the department at Washington City, near which was stationed, during the whole war, a large military force, and not far distant the largest of the Union armies. If I remember correctly, Colonel Daniel H. Rucker was the principal quartermaster at the capital during a considerable part of the war; and I distinctly recollect hearing him often spoken of by public men and others as an energetic officer and courteous gentleman.

These statements may serve to show the nature and magnitude of the operations of the quartermaster's department during the war of the rebellion. And yet these only show the smaller half of the case. All these operations were at a distance from the theatre of war. Those on the theatre of war were still more important. The average number of troops in the field during the war, was, it is believed, something over eight hundred and fifty thousand men. Except during the siege of Knoxville, and in one or two other instances of less note, no considerable corps of the army ever failed for a single day to have brought to the proper place for distribution its full supply of rations. Unless when in light marching order, by command of a general officer, no corps ever was without good supply of tents. Except in

rare instances, after long marches far away from bases of supply, all the soldiers of the Union army were constantly well clothed and well shod. A remarkable proof of this was seen in the grand review of the principal armies of the East and West, at the national capital, in May, 1865. The armies of the Potomac and of the James had not been far from their depots of supply, and it was expected that the soldiers thereof would present a neat and trim appearance. It was also expected that the soldiers of the armies under General Sherman, — who had just made the remarkable march from Atlanta to the sea and from Savannah to Washington, marching every step on foot, — would appear a good deal "the worse for wear." Not so. No sooner had these armies encamped in the vicinity of Washington, than all requisitions for clothing were instantly honored by the quartermaster's department; so that when, with steady tread and soldierly bearing, every man as neat as a pin, they marched up Pennsylvania Avenue from the capitol to the executive mansion, there was one long, unceasing shout of applause from the more than one hundred thousand spectators who witnessed this most sublime display of the times. These, and such as these, the routine duties of the department for the forces in the field, were so efficiently performed, that no great armies ever suffered so little for supplies as the Union armies during the war of the rebellion.

There were several grand operations, if I may so say of the quartermaster's department, during the war, in aid of grand military manœuvres of general officers. One or two of these may be noted. After

the battle of Chickamauga, the Union situation in East Tennessee was extremely serious — Burnside was closely besieged by Longstreet at Knoxville, and Thomas, not so closely, by Bragg, at Chattanooga. General Grant, in command of the military division of the Mississippi, arrived at Chattanooga and assumed command in person, October 23, 1863. He had already caused to be relaxed the rigor of the siege, and supplies to be sent to the army by wagon-route and river. He needed, in order to take the offensive, heavy reinforcements and great quantities of supplies and stores. To get these to Chattanooga was the duty of the quartermaster's department. That duty was performed with wonderful success, under the supervision of Quartermaster-General Meigs himself. The blockade of the Tennessee River was raised, and ample supplies and stores furnished the army. Large reinforcements were brought from different directions, two or three entire army corps being transported by rail from the army of the Potomac. The whole was done so quickly, so thoroughly, and so silently, that Grant was able to offer battle on November 23, and to drive the Confederates from their fortified strongholds, gaining one of the cleanest victories of the war, and then and there breaking the backbone of the rebellion. General Grant is entitled to unmixed praise for this great victory. Quartermaster-General Meigs is also entitled to unmixed praise for the rare executive genius which enabled him quickly to place in Grant's hands the means of gaining the victory.

The transportation of the army of the Potomac from Harrison's Landing on the James River to

Alexandria on the Potomac, earlier in the war, was also a notable performance in army transportation. We shall see in the Life of Secretary of War Schofield that his Twenty-third Army Corps was quickly transported from Nashville to Washington early in 1865 without any loss whatever. Other like duties of less note, some, perhaps of more — as the rapid concentration of troops at Pittsburgh Landing in the spring of 1862 — were done as of course by the department during the war. Colonel Royce remarks with truth: "The annals of history, the most bitter and persistent struggles in the Old World in ancient or modern times, furnish no parallel to the late campaigns of the Union armies, and to the promptness, facility, and dispatch with which immense bodies of troops have been transported from one sphere of action to another, and fabulous quantities of supplies of every kind furnished for their use or relief. Doubtless, the certainty and regularity with which the required supplies were furnished, and the promptness with which the innumerable demands upon the department were met, were greatly conducive to the success which finally crowned the great conflict."[1]

It will not be thought inappropriate to add statements as to the *personnel*, past and present, of this branch of the service. The following table — for which I am indebted to the valuable little work just quoted — shows the chiefs of the department from about the beginning of the Revolution down to 1879:

[1] Sketch of Org. of Q. M. Dep't, 37.

Name.	Rank.	Date of Appointment.
Thomas Mifflin,	Colonel,	Aug. —, 1775
Stephen Moylan,	do.	June 5, 1776
Thomas Mifflin,	Brigadier-general,	Oct. 1, 1776
Nathaniel Greene,	Major-general,	Mar. 2, 1778
Timothy Pickering,	Colonel,	Aug. 5, 1780
Samuel Hodgden,	Lieutenant-Colonel,	Mar. 4, 1791
James O'Hara,	do.	Apr. 19, 1792
John Wilkins, Jr.,	do.	June 1, 1796
John Wilkins, Jr.,	Major-general,	June 1, 1799
Morgan Lewis,	Brigadier-general,	Apr. 4, 1812
Robert Swartwout,	do.	Mar. 21, 1813
James R. Mullany,	Colonel,	Apr. 29, 1816
George Gibson,	do.	Apr. 29, 1816
William Cumming,	Brigadier-general,	Apr. 18, 1818
Thomas S. Jesup,	do.	May 8, 1818
Joseph E. Johnston,	do.	June 28, 1860
Montgomery C. Meigs,	do.	May 15, 1861

The following is the organization of the department as shown by the official publication of 1878:

Quartermaster-General. — Brigadier-General Montgomery C. Meigs.

Assistant Quartermaster-Generals. — Colonels Robert Allen, Daniel H. Rucker, Rufus Ingalls, L. C. Easton, Stewart Van Vliet.

Deputy Quartermaster-Generals. — Lieutenant-Colonels Samuel B. Holabird, Charles H. Tompkins, James A. Ekin, A. R. Eddy, Rufus Saxton, J. D. Bingham, A. J. Perry, Henry C. Hodges.

Quartermasters. — Majors John G. Chandler, William Myers, C. G. Sawtelle, J. J. Dana, J. A. Potter, R. N. Batchelder, M. I. Ludington, James M. Moore, James Belger, B. C. Card, C. A. Reynolds, George B. Dandy, George H. Weeks, William B. Hughes.

Assistant Quartermasters. — Captains A. G. Robinson, E. D. Baker, H. W. Janes, J. G. C. Lee, J. Gilliss, T. J. Eckerson,

A. J. McGonigle, E. B. Grimes, J. W. Scully, W. T. Howell, C. W. Foster, G. W. Bradley, S. F. Barstow, J. H. Belcher, E. B. Kirk, A. S. Kimball, A. F. Rockwell, G. C. Smith, E. J. Strang, N. S. Constable, J. V. Furey, L. C. Forsyth, C. H. Hoyt, A. P. Blunt, J. H. Lord, J. M. Marshall, E. B. Atwood, John Simpson, L. E. Campbell, C. S. Heintzelman.

Military Store-keepers.— Captains R. M. Potter, C. A. Alligood, J. F. Rodgers, G. A. Hull, John Livers, A. Barrett, W. P. Martin.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BUREAUX OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

(CONTINUED.)

THE SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT — THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT — THE PAY DEPARTMENT — THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS — THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT — RESUMÉ OF THE PRACTICAL LABORS PERFORMED BY THE DIFFERENT BUREAUX.

NEXT in order among the bureaux of the War Department, as annually arranged in the official army register, is:

VI. THE SUBSISTENCE DEPARTMENT.

In strictness there was no such thing as a subsistence department in the military establishment of the United States before the year 1818. The country had gone through the Revolutionary war, several Indian wars, and the war with Great Britain of 1812–15, without a distinct military organization exclusively charged with subsisting the army. A hundred years ago the subject of the division of labor, whether in military or civil affairs, was little understood. In the latter its importance had begun to be considered by the best minds of the age through the publication of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," a work contemporaneous with our Declaration of Independence, and scarcely less beneficent in its influence upon mankind; but in military affairs, especially in America, not much consideration was given to the subject until later. All through the war of the Revo-

lution, in the Indian wars near the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, throughout the last war with England, our armies experienced many disasters and sufferings from the want of a proper division of military organizations. No more notable want was that of an independent subsistence department under the strict rules of military discipline.

In all the wars above referred to, there had to be, by necessity, some substitute or other for a subsistence department, because the armies had to be fed. During most of the Revolutionary war, there was a kind of dual department for supplying the army with subsistence, at the head of each, respectively, being a commissary-general of purchases and a commissary-general of issues, each having a corps of subordinates. These purchased through contractors, and issued to the army not only subsistence supplies, but other military stores. The system was so inefficient that it was abandoned, and the business of supplying the army turned over to the Treasury Department. The contract system being continued—that is to say, the army being supplied directly by a parcel of contractors on bargains made through the Treasury Department—this project also turned out to be a failure. Even when the war with Great Britain was upon us, the necessity for a subsistence department on a military organization was not recognized. By the act of Congress of March 28, 1812, "to establish a quartermaster's department, and for other purposes" it was enacted: "That there shall be a commissary-general of purchases, and as many deputy commissaries as, in the opinion of the President of

the United States, the public service may require; that it shall be the duty of the commissary-general of purchases, under the direction and supervision of the Secretary of War, to conduct the procuring and providing of all arms, military stores, clothing, and generally all articles of supply requisite for the military service of the United States; and it shall be the duty of the deputy commissaries, when directed thereto, either by the Secretary of War, the commissary-general of purchases, or in cases of necessity by the commanding general, quartermaster-general, or deputy quartermasters, to purchase all such of the aforesaid articles as may be requisite for the military service."[1]

It will thus be seen that according to the present generally received notions of the correct division of labor in a military establishment, there was thus provided a purchasing bureau to perform part of the functions appropriately belonging to a quartermaster's, a subsistence, an ordnance, and a medical department. The result, as of course, was clashing, confusion, misfortune in the field. In the following year Congress undertook to improve this imperfect system by creating an office styled superintendent-general of military supplies, the incumbent of which, at the seat of government and under the direction of the Secretary of War, should supervise all accounts of officers of all branches of the army purchasing or receiving military stores or supplies of any kind whatever, causing such accounts to be regularly and promptly rendered. A much more efficacious remedy against the existing ills was a provision of the same act which authorized

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 697, secs. 4 and 5.

and directed the Secretary of War to define and prescribe the species and amount of supplies to be furnished by the different departments, their respective duties and powers, and to adopt general regulations for the transportation of the articles of supply from the places of purchase to the armies, garrisons, and posts. The act also authorized the President to appoint special commissaries to supply the army with subsistence and other stores and supplies in case of the failure of contractors or other emergency.[1]

In all these provisions, there was good intention and no little improvement on the former system; still, it would appear, both the civil and the military authorities failed to discover how to hit upon the simple plan which experience has since so amply vindicated, namely, the abolition of "the purchasing department" and the establishment of a distinct department of subsistence. The purchasing department was founded upon the bad system of contracts, as described a few pages back. Under that system, an army is constantly liable to be placed at the mercy of unconscionable men, not at all liable to military law. Moreover, the purchasing department had placed upon it functions which, legitimately, logically pertained to other departments. It was a supernumerary department, "a useless and ridiculous excess." Its final abolition was one of the best practical reforms ever brought about in the executive departments of the government.

Under the act of April 14, 1818, regulating the staff of the army, the subsistence department was organized. In the general history of the War De-

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 816 *et seq.*

partment, this important reform has already been spoken of.[1] The provisions relating to subsistence of the army were as follows:

SECTION 6.— That as soon as the state of existing contracts for the subsistence of the army shall, in the opinion of the President of the United States, permit it, there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, one commissary-general, with the rank, pay, and emoluments of colonel of ordnance, who shall, before entering on the duties of his office, give bond and security, in such sum as the President may direct, and as many assistants, to be taken from the subalterns of the line, as the service may require, who shall receive twenty dollars per month, in addition to their pay in the line, and who shall, before entering on the duties of their office, give bond and security, in such sums as the President may direct. The commissary-general and his assistants shall perform such duties, in purchasing and issuing of rations to the army of the United States, as the President may direct.

SECTION 7.—That supplies for the army, unless in particular and urgent cases the Secretary of War should otherwise direct, shall be purchased by contract, to be made by the commissary-general, on public notice, to be delivered on inspection, in the bulk, and at such places as shall be stipulated; which contract shall be made under such regulations as the Secretary of War may direct.

SECTION 8.— That the President may make such alterations in the component parts of the ration as a due regard to the health and comfort of the army and economy may require.

SECTION 9.— That the commissary-general, and his assistants, shall not be concerned, directly or indirectly, in the purchase or sale, in trade or commerce, of any article entering into the composition of the ration, allowed to the troops in the service of the United States, except on account of the United States; nor shall such officer take and apply to his own use any gain or emolument for negotiating or transacting any business connected with the duties of his office, other than what is, or may be allowed by law; and the commissary-general, and his assistants, shall be subject to martial law.

[1] See Chap. III., *ante; passim.*

SECTION 10.—That all letters to and from the commissary-general, which may relate to his office duties, shall be free from postage: *Provided*, That the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth sections of this act shall continue, and be in force for the term of five years from the passing of the same, and thence until the end of the next session of Congress, and no longer.

The careful reader will not overlook the fact that the system of purchasing by contract here provided is entirely different from that which had before obtained. Under the new system the subsistence department did indeed purchase its supplies "by contract"— that is, of the lowest bidders after due public notice — but they were thus bought in bulk, inspected by the military, and the department itself, whose officials were all subject to martial law, was responsible for the character and delivery of the supplies. Under the old system, if a contractor defaulted there was an end of it, no matter how much the army might suffer, for a law-suit on the bond brought no supplies. Under the new system, had a commissary of subsistence defaulted, there would have been an end of *him;* and hence there has been no default in this department, except in a few instances under circumstances beyond the control of human agency.

Thus the department continued until the act of Congress of March 2, 1821, "to reduce and fix the military peace establishment." Under this law the subsistence department was fully recognized, and, for the first time, under its proper name, the act providing, "that there shall be one commissary-general of subsistence; and that there shall be as many assistant commissaries as the service may require, not

exceeding fifty, who shall be taken from the subalterns of the line, and shall, in addition to their pay in the line, receive a sum not less than ten nor more than twenty dollars per month; and that the assistant quartermasters and assistant commissaries of subsistence shall be subject to duties in both departments under the orders of the Secretary of War."[1]

Without notable change, each change being designed to add to the efficiency of the department, as now organized universally recognized, the bureau remained for more than fifteen years. By an act of July, 1838, an assistant commissary-general of subsistence, with the rank and pay of a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, one commissary of subsistence, with the rank and pay of a major, and three commissaries of subsistence, with the rank and pay of captain, were added to the department.[2] And thus the organization remained until the Mexican war called forth an increase in the machinery, not a change in the system. That remained, and still remains, substantially the same as established under the Secretaryship of Mr. Calhoun in 1818 and 1821. During the Mexican war the increase in the force of the department mainly consisted of volunteer officers, whose commissions expired soon after the close of the war; but in 1850 the regular corps was increased by four assistant commissaries, with the rank and pay of captain. Even during the stupendous war of the rebellion the regular subsistence corps was not very greatly augmented. Nevertheless, the working force of the establishment was immensely increased; for each brigade of volunteers was entitled to an assist-

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large., III., 615. [2] *Ibid.* V., 258, sec. 11.

ant commissary, each regiment to a commissary-sergeant, with the rank of sergeant-major. The additional regiments in the regular army were also provided with officers of this department. The department itself was also from time to time slightly reënforced by additional commissaries and assistant commissaries of subsistence, but not at any time in a ratio to be compared with the sublime reënforcements which demonstrated the invincible military power of a free people. This staff department, organized on correct principles, adapted itself with ease and without much increase to the changed circumstances, and as regularly and smoothly supplied subsistence for a million men as it had before done for six thousand or twenty-five thousand.

It should also be borne in mind that the army ration had become, at the time of the war of the rebellion, a quite different thing from what it had been in former years. The first army ration under the present government of the United States consisted of: one pound of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork; one pound of bread or flour; half a gill of rum, brandy, or whiskey, or the value thereof; and at the rate of one quart of salt, two quarts of vinegar, two pounds of soap, and one pound of candles to every hundred rations. Several changes were made in the ration from time to time — none of them making it a daily luxury — until 1802, when Congress declared it to be as follows: one pound and a quarter of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork; eighteen ounces of bread or flour; one gill of rum, whiskey, or brandy; and at the rates of two quarts of salt, four quarts of vinegar, four

pounds of soap, and one pound and a half of candles to every hundred rations. This was more liberal with respect both to solids and liquids than the original ration, and it remained the regular bill of fare for the enlisted men of the army during a number of years. In 1832, four pounds of coffee and eight pounds of sugar to the hundred rations were substituted for the grog ration, and this allowance was increased to six pounds of coffee and twelve of sugar in 1838. These changes indicate both moral and hygienic reform in the army. In 1860, the allowance of coffee was increased to ten pounds and of sugar to fifteen for each one hundred rations. For some years the army regulations had provided for the issuing of beans, hominy, and rice to the troops at certain times. By a law of Congress, approved August 3, 1861, the army ration was increased as follows: "twenty-two ounces of bread or flour, or one pound of hard bread; fresh beef shall be issued as often as the commanding officer of any detachment or regiment shall require it, when practicable, in place of salt meat; beans and rice, or hominy, twice a week; one pound of potatoes shall be issued at least three times a week, if practicable, when these articles cannot be issued, an equivalent in value in some other proper food shall be issued; and a ration of tea may be substituted for a ration of coffee." Pepper was afterwards added to the ration, and the law also providing for a regular detail of cooks from the ranks, it is probable that the Union troops were more abundantly and healthfully subsisted during the war of the rebellion than any large armies ever were for so long a period. Indeed,

so careful were our statesmen of the time to see that the troops were herein plentifully supplied that the ration became excessive and wasteful. A considerable and quite animated discussion upon the propriety of its reduction arose in Congress and in the country. In March, 1864, Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Senate Military Committee, addressed a letter upon the subject to Secretary of War Stanton, who referred it to the subsistence department. Brigadier-General Joseph P. Taylor, at the time commissary-general of subsistence, endorsed the paper as follows:

> It is the opinion of this office — 1st. That the present army ration is larger than is necessary for the subsistence of the soldier.
>
> 2d. That the ration allowed prior to the passage of the act of August 3, 1861, is sufficient for the soldier.
>
> 3d. That it is advisable to reduce the ration to the amount allowed prior to the passage of the aforesaid act, and to add the value of this reduction to the soldier's pay, rather than to continue the present system of purchasing the savings made from the use of the present ration.
>
> In order to meet the exigencies of the service, and to facilitate the settlement of accounts at the treasury, it is deemed important that the clause of the act of August 3, 1861, which allows the issue of an equivalent in value of some other proper food, when the articles composing the ration cannot be issued in the proportions specified, should be embodied in any future legislation modifying the present army ration.[1]

These recommendations were adopted, and the ration modified accordingly. In case all the component parts of the ration could not be issued, or in other

[1] Quoted by Major John W. Barriger, in his "Legislative History of the Subsistence Department," pp. 105, 106 — a thick pamphlet, published in 1876, to the interesting pages of which I am indebted for many facts.

emergency, the President was authorized to change the ration to meet the want, or with a view to the health of the soldiers. Since then the ration of the United States army has been composed of such proper parts of fresh and salt meats, vegetables, tea, coffee, sugar, salt, pepper, etc., that if the soldier is not, under all ordinary circumstances, well fed and religiously clean in his person, it is his own fault or that of his immediate commander.

Of course the duty of subsisting such large numbers of men as composed the Union armies during the war of the rebellion involved great labor and large disbursements of money. "During the war this branch of the service never failed," said Secretary Stanton in his annual report of 1865. Its disbursements for the four years of the war were as follows:

From July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1862,	$48,799,521.14
From July 1, 1862, to June 30, 1863,	69,537,582.78
From July 1, 1863, to June 30, 1864,	98,666,918.50
From July 1, 1864, to June 30, 1865,	144,782,969.41
Total,	$361,786,991.83

On the 30th of April, 1865, almost on the very day of the final surrender of the Confederacy, there were in the department, the twenty-nine officers of the regular corps and five hundred and thirty-five commissaries of volunteers.

At the beginning of the war Brevet Major-General George Gibson was commissary-general of subsistence. He had been at the head of the department for more than forty years, and its efficient, vigorous management during all that period makes the highest

eulogium that could be pronounced on his character as a military executive officer. General Gibson died in September, 1861, and was succeeded by Brevet Colonel Joseph P. Taylor, who had for some time been assistant commissary-general of subsistence. About two years later he received the full rank of brigadier-general as provided by law, then enacted, for the head of the bureau. He died in the latter part of June, 1864, after continuous service in the office of about thirty-five years, which had been preceded by a service of fifteen years in the army. General Taylor conducted the affairs of the office during a trying period with great success, and was distinguished among public men for the fine suavity of his personal and official demeanor. He was succeeded by Colonel Amos B. Eaton, regularly promoted, who conducted the affairs of the bureau for about ten years, when, by an order of the Secretary of War, he was placed on the retired list, the order to take effect May 1, 1874. In the following month, Colonel Alexander E. Shiras, who had been acting commissary-general of subsistence since the retirement of General Eaton, succeeded to the position, with the rank of brigadier-general. General Shiras died in April, 1875, and Brevet Colonel Robert Macfeely was promoted to the vacancy. He still remains at the head of the bureau.

By legislation of recent years, the subsistence department was slightly reduced in force, the regular corps now (1878) numbering twenty-six officers. The roster, as furnished by the Army Register of 1878, is as follows:

Commissary-General of Subsistence.—Brigadier-General Robert Macfeely.

Assistant Commissary-Generals of Subsistence. — Colonels Charles L. Kilburn, M. D. L. Simpson; Lieutenant-Colonels Henry F. Clarke, William W. Burns, Amos Beckwith.

Commissaries of Subsistence.— Majors B. Du Barry, Thomas J. Haines, George Bell, M. R. Morgan, John P. Hawkins, M. P. Small, Thomas C. Sullivan, John W. Barriger; Captains Thomas Wilson, William H. Bell, J. H. Gilman, Samuel T. Cushing, William A. Elderkin, Charles B. Penrose, William H. Nash, Charles McClure, Andrew K. Long, Charles P. Eagan, F. F. Whitehead, John F. Weston.

VII. THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Of all the bureaux of the military establishment of the United States, the medical department had the most difficult struggle, perhaps, in securing rational organization and appreciative recognition. There was, in truth, in the proper signification of the term, no such department of a permanent nature until during the administration of the war office by Secretary Calhoun; and it was not until long afterwards that its military character and rights were fully acknowledged, either by Congress or by the army. One of the few Secretaries of War who have with justice been but little honored by their countrymen or by history, spoke almost with contempt of the department less than fifty years ago.[1] It required more than one contest for the officers of the corps to be allowed to wear full uniforms, epaulettes, sash, and all. Through an antagonism in the army not easily to be explained, and an indifference on the part of Congress scarcely consonant with statesmanship, certainly not with earnest humanity, that branch of the

[1] Mr. Eaton, President Jackson's first Secretary of War.

military establishment whose labors are now universally conceded to be the most beneficent of all, struggled through weary years for just recognition and independent organization.

But every one will see that so soon as the country raised an army, there must have been attached to it a medical corps of some kind, that the sick and wounded might receive the professional attentions which all civilized peoples acknowledge to be necessary. We accordingly find, recurring to our revolutionary history, that in May, 1775, the Colony of Massachusetts Bay provided for a commission to examine persons wishing to become surgeons in the army then forming in that colony for the siege of Boston. This commission performed valuable service in the care with which it selected surgeons for the army. After the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, an army hospital—said to have been the first in our country—was established at Cambridge, and was placed in charge of Doctor John Warren, a brother of the illustrious General Joseph Warren, who was slain in that battle, the first distinguished martyr in the cause of American Independence. The first armies of the Revolution, as is well known, came together rather voluntarily than by reason of the action of government. Most of the corps, large or small, brought with them to the general rendezvous their own surgeons. It is, however, a very singular fact, that in the resolutions of the Continental Congress first organizing a continental army there was no provision for a medical staff. Later this omission was remedied, and provisions were made for a medical corps and for the establishment of hospitals. The

provisions were complex, however, the officials of the corps too numerous. The result, clashings and disputes. The sublime fortitude and endurance of our revolutionary armies would be demonstrated by this, if by nothing else, that they achieved independence through a seven years' war, notwithstanding the fact of a medical department organized on plans wellnigh as faulty as it was possible for them to be.

At the time of the establishment of the government under the Constitution, and for some time thereafter, the medical corps consisted of a surgeon for each regiment, and three surgeon's mates. The President was also authorized by law to appoint as many surgeon's mates as he might judge necessary. Regimental surgeons and surgeon's mates were also appointed for the "levies" (volunteers) which were raised to aid in General St. Clair's campaign against the Indians in 1791. In the battle in which that officer was so signally defeated by the savages, Doctor Victor Grasson, a surgeon's mate in a corps of "levies" was slain, being the first medical officer of the army killed in battle.[1] Thus, with a surgeon for each regiment and a variable number of surgeon's mates, the medical and surgical labors of the army were performed for nearly ten years after the inauguration of President Washington.

But in 1798, on the increase of the army in view of the threatened war with France, there was for a short time an organized medical department, Doctor James Craik, of Virginia, being appointed physician-general at the request of Washington himself. In

[1] Asst. Surg. Harvey E. Brown's Medical Department of the U. S. Army, p. 73.

the following year Congress passed an act "to regulate the medical establishment." This law provided for a physician-general an apothecary-general; a medical purveyor; a competent number of hospital surgeons; a suitable number of hospital mates; hospital stewards, nurses, and attendants. The duties of these officers and employés were in general terms prescribed, and were such as would be indicated by their designations respectively. The compensations of the several officers were as follows: The physician-general, one hundred dollars per month, and fifty dollars per month additional, in lieu of all other emoluments and commutations; the apothecary-general, eighty dollars per month, and thirty dollars additional, in lieu of rations, etc.; the purveyor, one hundred dollars per month; each deputy apothecary-general, fifty dollars pay per month and sixteen dollars additional; each hospital surgeon, eighty dollars pay per month, "and forty dollars per month in full compensation for forage, rations, and all expenses;" each mate, thirty dollars pay per month, and twenty dollars additional; each steward, twenty-five dollars per month, and eight dollars in lieu of all other allowances.[1] This act was well calculated to supply an efficient system for the establishment and management of hospitals, but the necessity for its practical operation during the war did not arise, war being averted. In 1800, all fears of war passed away, and the army was again placed upon a peace footing. The act by which this was accomplished disbanded all the medical officers except six surgeons and twelve surgeon's mates, and by December, 1801, this

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 721–22.

number of mates had been still further reduced to seven, existing vacancies not having been filled in view of a still greater reduction in the army.[1]

From this time until the second year of the war with Great Britain there was no medical department, the duties pertaining to such department being performed by surgeons and surgeon's mates, without bureaucratic head or coöperative organization. These were from time to time increased, as the number of garrisons and posts was increased. So in 1808, when there was a considerable increase of the army, the corps was correspondingly increased, the general organization of the army requiring a surgeon and two or more mates, as the President might determine for each regiment. The corps was likewise increased with the considerable increase of the army in 1812. The act authorizing the increase of the army, also provided for such number of hospital surgeons, mates, and stewards as the service, in the judgment of the President, might require. But not until 1813 was the corps placed under the command of a responsible head. By an act of March 3d of that year, it was provided, "that for the better superintendence and management of the hospital and medical establishment of the army of the United States, there shall be a physician- and surgeon-general, with an annual salary of two thousand five hundred dollars, and an apothecary-general, with an annual salary of eighteen hundred dollars; whose respective duties and powers shall be prescribed by the President."[2]

Under this law, Doctor James Tilton, of Delaware,

[1] Brown's Med. Dept. of the Army, 78.

[2] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 819.

was appointed physician- and surgeon-general, and Doctor Francis Le Barron, of Massachusetts, apothecary-general. By the rules and regulations for the army, promulgated by order of the President during the following May, the physician- and surgeon-general was required to prescribe rules for the government of hospitals, and see them enforced; to appoint stewards and nurses; to call for and receive returns of medicines, surgical instruments, and all hospital stores; to authorize and regulate the supply of regimental medical chests, making half-yearly returns thereof, and of the sick in hospital, to the War Department, and yearly estimates of what would be required for the army. The apothecary-general was required to assist in these duties, and to obey the orders of the physician-general. The eminent physicians appointed to these new positions entered at once upon the discharge of their duties, and henceforth during the war the sick and wounded were promptly, humanely, and skilfully cared for. For all the armies of the North, hospitals were provided in as convenient and healthful localities as could be obtained; and though there was a great deal of sickness among these troops, the rate of mortality never became exceptionally great. For the treatment of the wounded during and after engagements, the corps in all instances received the commendations of general and field officers. No medical reports of the army of the South have been preserved, but General Jackson himself, in his general orders of congratulation after the victory of New Orleans, declared that the medical staff merited well of the country. From which it may correctly be inferred that

it was no less efficient in the South than in the North.

By the act of Congress of March 3, 1815, reducing the army to a peace basis on the conclusion of the war, the medical department was again virtually disbanded. Nevertheless, the apothecary-general, two assistant apothecaries, and a number of hospital surgeons and mates were provisionally retained in service by order of the President. In the following year, Congress by law authorized these officers to be continued in service. Thus the corps remained until the organization of the medical department upon a permanent basis by the act of Congress regulating the staff of the army, approved by the President April 14, 1818. This act provided, "That there shall be one surgeon-general, with a salary of two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; one assistant surgeon-general, with the emoluments of a hospital surgeon; and that the number of post surgeons be increased, not to exceed eight to each division."[1] After the passage of this act the medical department consisted of one surgeon-general, two assistant surgeon-generals (one being assigned by general orders that there might be equality in each division of the army), one apothecary-general, two assistant apothecaries, forty post surgeons, one regimental surgeon and two mates to each regiment.[2]

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 426. By an unfortunate misprint in one or two places in Asst. Surgeon Brown's "Medical Department of the Army," the act cited in the text is said to have been passed in May instead of April. Elsewhere in the work the date is correctly printed.

[2] Brown's Med. Dept. of the Army, 107.

Hospital surgeons of the old organization were transferred to the list of post surgeons.

Hospital Surgeon Joseph Lovell was appointed surgeon-general. A graduate of Harvard, a learned physician, and skilful operator, he had distinguished himself as regimental surgeon; in charge of a general hospital at Burlington, Vermont; while serving in the field with Generals Scott and Brown, and by not a few exceptionally able official reports. On the 21st of April, general orders from the war office directed that all reports, returns, and communications connected with the medical department should thereafter be made to the surgeon-general's office at Washington; and that all orders and instructions relative to the duties of the several officers of the medical staff would be issued through the surgeon-general, "who will be obeyed and respected accordingly." Thus was practically instituted the medical department of the United States military establishment.

Surgeon-General Lovell entered upon the discharge of his duties with the enthusiastic ardor so often associated with a vigorous mind just entering upon its prime; for he was at this time, though preëminent in medicine and in surgery, only about thirty years of age. Among the first of his labors was a revision of the medical regulations. These he prepared with great care and skill, clearly pointing out the various duties of the officers of the corps, giving no less attention to the rules pertaining to the business management of the affairs of the bureau than to those pertaining to the professional duties of the corps. The regulations were issued in gen-

eral orders by the War Department in September. Their good effects very soon became apparent both in the better care of the sick and in the business management of the affairs of the bureau. This latter was especially manifested in the greater economy which at once obtained. Upon this point Assistant Surgeon Harvey E. Brown, in his pamphlet on "the Medical Department of the Army" remarks: "Under the establishment of 1802 the average appropriation for the medical department was $13,500 per annum, or about $4.00 per man for every soldier in service. With the increase of the army in 1808 the expenses rose to $50,000 per annum, or about $5.00 per man. Of the cost of the department during the war no reliable figures have been found, but in the years 1816–18, under the military peace establishment of 1815, the appropriations averaged $95,382 per annum, or $7.00 per man, while after the reörganization of the staff in 1818 they were reduced to $39,104 per annum, or only about $3.00 for each soldier in service."[1] A similar result took place, it may be observed in passing, in other staff departments of the military establishment on their organization upon philosophical principles during Secretary Calhoun's administration. The practical manner of securing this economy is substantially the same in all the bureaux. As to the medical department, it was thus explained in a letter of Surgeon-General Lovell to the Secretary of War, under date of November 22, 1822:

"In explanation of this great difference in expense, it may be proper to add, that a perfect system of responsibility for all public

[1] Page 125.

property from the period of its purchase to that of its expenditure, has been established in this office; that the returns of the surgeons, of every article, are regularly rendered and examined, and full receipts required in the case of every transfer before their accounts are settled. This, with the plan of purchasing adopted, and of paying all bills without advancing money, absolutely precludes the possibility of fraud, extravagance, or undue expenditure. It may also be remarked that during the last four years our military hospitals have been regularly and abundantly furnished with every article of furniture, medicine, stores, etc., necessary for the comfort, convenience, and recovery of the sick, to which, as well as to the skill and attention of the surgeons, the quarterly reports bear ample testimony."

The act of Congress of March 2, 1821, reducing the military establishment, provided that the medical department should consist of one surgeon-general, eight surgeons, with the compensation of regimental surgeons, and forty-five assistant surgeons, with the compensation of post surgeons.[1] This effected the discharge of Assistant Surgeon-Generals Watkins and Bronaugh, of Apothecary-General Le Barron, and of two assistant apothecaries. Four post surgeons were also discharged. From this time until the Mexican war there was little change in the organization of the department. In 1832, 1836, and 1837, additional surgeons and assistant surgeons were authorized by acts of Congress, and in 1842 the offices of two surgeons and ten assistant surgeons were abolished by the same authority.[2] These changes about equalized each other, and did not in either case disturb, and were not intended to disturb, the general organization of the department. In 1834,

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 616, sec. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, V., 513.

the pay of the officers of the corps was increased, surgeons being allowed the pay and emoluments of a major; assistant surgeons who had served five years those of a captain; other assistant surgeons those of a first lieutenant. After continuous service of ten years, additional rations were allowed; and, in fine, the corps about this time began to receive hearty consideration and recognition never before accorded to it.

"The history of the medical corps," says Assistant Surgeon Brown, in the work so often cited, "during the period from its reörganization in 1821 to the declaration of war against Mexico, is not an eventful one; yet probably at no time were the duties devolving upon it so arduous and irksome, or performed under such discouraging circumstances. The long series of years in which the government was engaged in the contests with the Seminole and Creek Indians gave constant occupation to many medical officers at unhealthy stations in the swamps and everglades of Florida, but their reports pertain rather to the medical statistics of the army (which have already been published) than embrace any points of interest in connection with its history."[1] As a general statement this may be correct enough; yet were there several occasions during the period in question in which the medical department, as I conceive with deference, bore a part of no little historic interest. Thus, during several years of this period yellow fever prevailed to an alarming extent among the troops of the South, and at one time so far north as Fort Monroe. Malarial fevers were of a more

[1] Med. Dept. of the Army, 126.

than usual malignant type, and much more than usually prevalent. Very many deaths occurred. But amid the pestilence, or rather the many pestilences, every officer of the medical corps remained at his post, and day and night, with modest but noble heroism, waged the conflict with the dread enemy. Some, after weeks of ceaseless vigilance and toil, themselves succumbed to the pestilence. Facts of this kind are not often related with personal details in history; if they were, the genuine heroes of the medical profession would be discovered to far outnumber those who won their laurels with the sword.

As connected with this general subject, it may be proper to speak of the sufferings of the troops who went from the Atlantic seaboard to the West in 1832 to join in the campaign against the Sac and Fox Indians under Black Hawk. Seven companies of troops from Fort Monroe and New York harbor embarked at Buffalo, for Chicago, on the steamer "Henry Clay," on the 3d of July. The next day, a soldier was taken sick, and the disease pronounced to be Asiatic cholera. After arrival at Detroit, another case occurred, and the man first attacked died. General Scott, who was aboard the steamer on his way to take command of the forces against Black Hawk, ordered the steamer to proceed up the river and lake, and to disembark the command on an island near Mackinaw, if necessary. Surgeon Everett, medical director of the north-western army, accompanied the command. The disease spread so rapidly that the troops were disembarked below Fort Gratiot. Up to July 16th, the number of deaths in hospital was thirty-four, but many soldiers in a panic deserted, and

numbers of them were found dead on the roadside for miles around. Surgeon Everett died on the 14th. Two days after this command left Detroit, the disease broke out among a detachment of troops awaiting transportation to Chicago. The disease spread so rapidly, that the city authorities requested the immediate departure of the troops, and they proceeded on the steamer "Superior." Of a total strength of seventy-eight men, sixty-three had the disease, and nineteen died. The epidemic was carried to Chicago, and in six days two hundred soldiers were attacked and fifty-one died. The command subsequently marched to the Mississippi River, where the disease again broke out with as fatal effects as in Chicago. The expedition against Black Hawk, so far as General Scott's command was concerned, was completely frustrated by the ravages of this terrible disease. But General Atkinson's command and the volunteers of Illinois and Wisconsin had taken the field before the appearance of the disease, and prosecuted the campaign to a successful issue, leaving to General Scott a fine opportunity for diplomacy, of which he took every proper advantage.

It is believed that the soldier who was attacked with cholera on the steamer "Henry Clay," July 4, and who died on the next day, was the first person assailed by that disease in the United States. It had for some time prevailed in Quebec and other portions of Lower Canada, but had not before appeared in this country. Much surprise was expressed that the disease suddenly appeared on steamers on a great lake, many miles from shore, and many discussions arose as to how the cholera might be carried from

place to place. It afterwards transpired that both the "Henry Clay" and the "Superior" had been engaged in carrying emigrants between Quebec and Montreal.

The disease prevailed to as great extent among the troops of the South as among those of the North. In the Southern army there were nearly four hundred cases, of which nearly one hundred were fatal. During the entire period of this terrible visitation, the officers of the medical department were everywhere most vigilant, active, and brave. The proportion of deaths in the army, compared with the number of sick, was considerably less than in many cities ravaged by the disease. Nevertheless, some of the best members of the corps succumbed to the destroyer, and others were attacked. The world will never know a tithe of the heroism shown by the medical department of the army, and by the medical profession of the United States, in their battles with the Asiatic cholera in the fatal year 1832.

In 1835 the long-pending troubles with the Seminole Indians of Florida again broke out in open war. On account of the warlike character of these savages, and the difficult nature of the country which they inhabited, a considerable army was required in Florida during several years. The unhealthfulness of the country occupied by the Indians demanded an exceptionally large force from the medical department. This was supplied, though at the expense of posts and garrisons in other parts of the country. Great labor and responsibility were thus thrown upon the surgeon-general's office, but at length the force of the department was considerably augmented, as we

have seen. His severe labors, however, undermined the health of Surgeon-General Lovell, and he died in Washington, October 17, 1836, at the early age of forty-eight years. He was a great physician, a man of very uncommon executive faculties, in all respects a great and good man.[1]

[1] The *National Intelligencer* newspaper of the 19th contained the following notice of the death of Doctor Lovell:

"It rarely falls to our lot to record the death of one whose loss to the community and the profession, both military and civil, of which he was a distinguished member, is so deeply and widely spread as the untimely exit of Doctor JOSEPH LOVELL, late surgeon-general of the army. Cut down in the prime of life, in the full career of great usefulness, he has left a void in society and in the military service of his country which but few who may follow can adequately fill. Doctor Lovell entered the army in 1812, on the declaration of war with Great Britain, as surgeon of the Ninth Regiment of U. S. Infantry. He served in the memorable campaigns on the Niagara frontier in 1813 and 1814. His patriotic devotion to the public service, and the faithful discharge of his official duties, soon distinguished him in the camp and in the field among his brother officers and in his profession. Promoted to the rank of hospital surgeon, he was eventually selected by President Monroe, in 1818, to fill the important station of surgeon-general of the army, a post which his talents, medical skill, and, above all, his great experience as a tried officer of the medical staff, eminently qualified him to fill with honor and great advantage to the public service.

"In his social duties, the domestic circle, and as father and husband — all the ties which bind the Christian and the man to the obligations of the world — Doctor Lovell stood conspicuous. His bereaved family, eleven motherless and now fatherless children, who will attempt to depict their woe! Let other hands, at a more appropriate season, fill up the outline of the character and services of the lamented Lovell, now hastily and so briefly sketched.

"Every mark of respect was paid to his mortal remains last evening at four o'clock, by his numerous friends, both officers and citizens. We also noticed the President's family, the heads of the departments and bureaux, and the principal officers of the government now at Washington. The pall-bearers were Major-General Macomb, Brigadier-General Jones, General Towson, Colonel Wainwright, Commodore Rogers, Commodore Morris, Colonel Twiggs, Major Cross. The clergy, medical faculty, and officers of the army, navy, and marine corps present at the seat of government followed the relations of the deceased as mourners."

In 1842 the officers of the medical department erected a handsome monument over Doctor Lovell's grave in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington.

On the 30th of November following, Surgeon Thomas Lawson, senior surgeon in the army, was appointed surgeon-general in the place of the late Doctor Lovell. At the time serving in the field in Florida, he did not arrive in Washington till the spring of the following year. Detailed by the War Department to accompany Ex-President Jackson to his home in Tennessee, and afterwards to aid in the organization of troops in the North, he did not permanently enter upon his duties as surgeon-general till 1838. Meantime, the affairs of the office had been acceptably conducted by Assistant Surgeon Benjamin King.

About the time Doctor Lawson became actively surgeon-general, the pay and emoluments of officers in the medical corps were graded with officers of cavalry of the same rank, by the same act which gave an addition of seven surgeons to the corps.[1] And thus, except as reduced in 1842, the corps remained until the commencement of hostilities with Mexico in 1846.

A few minor events occurred meanwhile, of which brief mention may be made. Some of them were finely illustrative of Ex-President Grant's famous paradox, that "the army never has any peace except during war." During a lull in the general storm of the Seminole war, the medical department was disturbed by "the war of the epaulettes." This animated but bloodless contest occurred during portions of the years 1839 and 1840. A board of officers, in prescribing the uniform for the medical corps, had given to its officers an aiguilette, but no epaulettes. Against

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, V., 259–60, secs. 24 and 33.

this the corps protested, demanding epaulettes. At length Surgeon-General Lawson wrote a letter to the adjutant-general of the army on the subject, which resulted in a complete victory for the epaulettes. Besides good points, the letter contains personal history of interest. I therefore quote the larger part of it:

"SIR:

"Doctor King informs me that you have expressed a wish that I should call with him on the Secretary of War, and speak to him on the subject of epaulettes for the medical staff.

"As it is unusual for a subaltern officer to dictate to his chief, I have upon reflection come to the conclusion that it is better for me not to suggest anything to the Secretary in relation to a change of uniform.

"I have been twenty-six and more years in the military service of my country, and very generally with troops on the frontiers and in the field.

"I have been on the theatre of immediate action in every war in which the country has been engaged within my period of service, whether with a civilized or savage enemy, except that with Black Hawk, and then I volunteered my services for the field, but could not obtain permission to leave my station.

"I have acted as quartermaster and as adjutant, and have been for months at a time in command of a company of men in the regular army. I have also commanded a battalion and a regiment of men in the volunteer service, and have led them to the theatre of war; in the first instance under a commission from the executive of the State of Louisiana, and on the last occasion by the almost unanimous consent of the officers and men who served under my orders; and although my services have not been attended with such brilliant results as those of some other persons, my military career has certainly not been discreditable to myself, or altogether unprofitable to the government.

"If, under these circumstances, the commanding general of the army could feel himself justified in putting me off with an aigulette, a piece of tinsel on one shoulder, while he decorates every brevet second lieutenant with an epaulette on each shoulder, and the staff lieutenant with an aigulette besides, I must be satisfied to remain without a military dress.

"Epaulettes would embellish the person, and thereby gratify the pride of these officers (whether foolish pride or not, is immaterial to the question), without doing a jot of injury to the discipline of the army, or interfering at all with the rights or with the dignity of a single officer with military rank. And if these indispensable officers, and I am free to say, intelligent, zealous, and efficient members of the medical corps (the surgeons and assistant surgeons) can be brought to set a higher value on their commissions, or to feel better satisfied with their condition in the army, at so small a cost as the privilege of wearing epaulettes, the indulgence surely should not be withheld."

Another animated dispute occurred upon the question of the relative *status* of medical officers when serving with officers of the line. The discussion originated on an application by an assistant surgeon for information as to his position when detailed to serve on a council of administration with junior line officers. The line claimed that medical officers, having no actual rank, could not preside over such councils, and to this construction of the law medical officers objected. In the Revised Army Regulations of 1840, the question was definitely decided against the claim of the medical officers by a paragraph denying the right of any staff officer to preside over a board of survey or council of administration, though all staff officers continued to be liable to detail as members of such bodies. This caused no little indignation and a renewal of the discussion, but it was a number of years afterwards that the position of the staff in this regard was authoritatively decided to be correct. On August 3d, 1843, the general-in-chief decided that surgeons, not having the military rank of field officers, were not entitled to the salute prescribed for majors. And this is

about all that at the time came of this long and animated discussion in army circles.

With the commencement of the Mexican war came peace and quiet to the officers of the army, staff or others, from disturbing questions among themselves and from the harassing assaults of demagogues. The history of the medical department during this conflict must be rapidly sketched.

In view of the threatened war with Mexico, General Zachary Taylor occupied Corpus Christi, in Texas, in the month of August, 1845, with a regiment of dragoons, six regiments of infantry, and detachments of three regiments of artillery. This was called the army of occupation. It had been furnished with large quantities of medical supplies, forwarded during the early summer by the medical purveyor at New York. Large supplies were also forwarded to New Orleans to meet future demands in case they might be made. A full medical staff was present with the army of occupation from the beginning, Surgeon Presley H. Craig being medical director. Regimental and general hospitals were established, and the sick systematically cared for and promptly treated. In March, 1846, the army moved to Brazos Santiago, and not long afterwards established encampment near Brownsville, on the Rio Grande, directly opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras. Some inconsiderable defensive works were here constructed, afterwards enlarged and known as Fort Brown. This outpost of the army of occupation was bombarded by the Mexicans from batteries in Matamoras on the 6th of May,— the first act of war above the character of an accidental skirmish

that had occurred. On the evening of the 7th, General Taylor marched from Point Isabel to the relief of Brownsville. At noon the next day he was confronted on the plain of Palo Alto with a superior army under the Mexican General Arista, which was defeated and put to rout after five hours' hard fighting. Early the next morning, Taylor pressed forward towards Brownsville, and late in the evening fought Arista again, who had been reënforced, and quickly won the battle of Resaca de la Palma. In both these engagements the casualties were considerable on our side and very large on that of the Mexicans. As neither engagement was concluded before twilight, the medical corps labored the whole of the two successive nights on the field of battle. It is a singular fact, that the wounded Mexicans preferred the American surgeons to their own,— a preference which was manifested throughout the entire war, and which vastly added to the labors of the medical staff and to the drafts upon the medical chest, for in no instance did an American surgeon refuse his services to a Mexican when to give them would not have been neglect of his own countrymen. The praises of the staff were universal among the general and field officers. The following report of Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. Belknap is but a specimen of many:

"FIRST BRIGADE, CAMP MATAMORAS, JUNE 10, 1846.

"CAPT. W. W. S. BLISS, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

"SIR: In reporting the operations of the first brigade on the eighth and ninth of May, Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, a proper reference to the services of the medical staff was inadvertently omitted. I beg leave, therefore, to offer this supplementary statement. It is due to Surgeon Wright and Assistant Surgeons Porter, DeLeon, and Madison to say that their professional

aid was required early in the action of the eighth instant, and that the number of wounded soon called for their unceasing attention. I am happy to bear testimony that the devotion of these officers to the wounded under their care was conspicuous during the day and through the entire night. In the action of the ninth, Doctors Wright and Porter were again present, and passed a second sleepless night in the performance of their arduous duties. Their efforts to alleviate pain and suffering were as benevolent as they were untiring, serving with equal kindness and zeal our army and the large number of the enemy's wounded that fell into our hands.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

W. G. BELKNAP,

"*Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding First Brigade.*"

Hospitals were established at Point Isabel and Brownsville, and General Taylor soon occupying Matamoras and other towns on the right bank of the Rio Grande, hospitals were also there established. Early in the autumn he made Camargo his base of supplies for his contemplated movement on Monterey, and accordingly at Camargo general hospitals were established. Many were needed and the labors of the medical staff were incessant, for sickness prevailed to an alarming extent among the troops, and the enervating climate prevented the wounded from rapidly recovering.

Early in September General Taylor commenced the march on Monterey, the advance column under General Worth having preceded him a few days. After about three days' irregular siege and one day's terrible fighting, Monterey surrendered on the 24th. The number of killed and wounded in the American army was nearly six hundred, and in the Mexican about one thousand. All of the wounded were virtually in charge of the American medical staff. In

his official report of the battle, General Taylor says: "Surgeon Craig, medical director, was actively employed in the important duties of his department, and the medical staff generally were unremitting in their attentions to the numerous wounded." General Worth has equally good words to say of the staff in his division.

The next and last great battle in which the army of occupation, since entering Mexican territory called the army of invasion, engaged was the battle of Buena Vista, February 22 and 23, 1847. The fighting on the first day of this remarkable engagement was no more than heavy skirmishing, but on the 23d, the Mexican General Santa Anna hurled his forces, outnumbering the Americans more than four to one, against his adversary in large masses of infantry, charging other portions of the lines with cavalry and mounted lancers, thinking that by his overpowering numbers and the terror of his onset he would speedily pulverize the little band arrayed against him. He openly boasted in the morning that such would be the result of the day. But the Americans, though mostly raw volunteers, heroically resisted and repelled every assault save one. At a single point of General Taylor's lines his troops gave way, but others by almost superhuman gallantry recovered the position, and at last the Mexicans, who had all day suffered fearful losses, were driven pell-mell from the field. In this battle the loss of the Americans was two hundred and sixty-seven killed, four hundred and fifty-six wounded, and a few missing. The Mexicans left five hundred dead on the field, many more than that wounded. Most of the wounded

were carried to the general hospitals at Saltillo, but not a few, unable to be transported, were cared for in hospitals on the field of battle, as were those who had been only slightly wounded. "The Medical Staff," says General Taylor in his official report, "under the able direction of Assistant Surgeon Hitchcock, were assiduous in their attentions to the wounded upon the field and in their careful removal to the rear. Both in these respects and in the subsequent organization and service of the hospitals, the administration of this department was everything that could be wished." General Wool said that the surgeons of his division were entitled to his highest praise "for their devotion to the wounded of the Mexican army as well as those of our own."

At this time there were general and post hospitals at Point Isabel, Fort Brown, Matamoras, Camargo, Monterey, Saltillo, and Tampico, at which last named place was the division of General Twiggs, which had proceeded thither for the purpose of joining the army under General Scott, as that of General Worth had marched to the mouth of the Rio Grande for the same purpose. There was no more general fighting by the army under General Taylor during the war, but the labors of the medical officers were great and incessant, the climate of the country making sad havoc among the American troops. Malarial fevers and diarrhœa of a peculiarly unmanageable type, in nearly all instances becoming chronic and often fatal, prevailed in every regiment and corps. The hospitals were crowded. What could be done, was done for the sufferers; but notwithstanding the kindest attention and the best skill, many died and were buried

under the turf of a foreign soil. During this whole year, there was a constant stream of sick and disabled American soldiers returning from Mexico to the United States, and yet the hospitals in Mexico continued to be full of patients.

On March 9th, the army under General Winfield Scott, about thirteen thousand strong, made a landing a few miles from Vera Cruz, and at once invested that city. The bombardment from fleet and army was constant until the 27th, when the city, with the strong castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, more than five thousand prisoners, and vast quantities of military stores, was surrendered to the Americans. In the siege of Vera Cruz the Americans lost less than one hundred men killed and wounded, but the Mexican loss was very heavy. Two days before the capitulation, the Second Dragoons, Colonel Harney, had a severe skirmish with the enemy at the stone bridge of Medellin, a few miles south of Vera Cruz. In his report of this affair, in which he suffered considerable loss in wounded, Colonel Harney makes special mention of Assistant Surgeon J. K. Barnes, medical officer of the regiment, for activity and zeal in the performance of his duties. This officer is now (1879) surgeon-general of the United States army. At the time of this affair, he was serving, as it were, under the eye of the head of the medical department; for Surgeon-General Lawson, always partial to service in the field, was present with the army, serving as medical director, which he continued to do till the close of the war. Leaving a considerable garrison at Vera Cruz, General Scott, early in April, marched for the city of Mexico, taking the route by Jalapa.

The invading army now numbered about eight thousand men. On the 18th, it met Santa Anna, with an army twelve thousand strong, posted for battle in the formidable positions of Cerro Gordo. A sanguinary conflict ensued, resulting in the defeat and utter rout of the Mexicans, Santa Anna barely saving himself by hasty flight on a mule taken from his carriage. The Americans lost four hundred and thirty-one in killed and wounded, the Mexicans more than a thousand, and about three thousand prisoners. The victors at once pressed forward, and in a few days Jalapa, the strong castle of Perote, and the large city of Puebla fell into their hands, with many prisoners and vast store, and all without the firing of a gun.

At Puebla, the army rested for recuperation and reënforcements. Here sickness among the troops became frightful. At one time there were more than eighteen hundred sick in hospital. During the summer seven hundred enlisted men died in the hospitals at Perote. Surgeon-General Lawson called on the chief surgeons of divisions for special reports on the causes of the sickness and mortality. Surgeon Satterlee, in a report of historical as well as of professional interest, said:

"PUEBLA, MEXICO, July 5, 1847.

"SIR: In obedience to your instructions that I should report for the information of the general-in-chief the probable causes of the great amount of sickness and mortality prevailing among the troops, I proceed to state that sufficient causes of disease exist, and have existed since and during the siege of Vera Cruz, to account for all the sickness that prevails; and not a few of these causes have been spoken of, both in the reports of the medical officers of the first division and in their conversations, and often by them deplored.

"To prove the above position, it is only necessary to give a

brief history of the operations and changes of the division from the time it left Vera Cruz until the present time.

"1. The division left Vera Cruz with the most limited means of transportation, not being allowed to bring even their tents; in consequence of which they have been obliged to bivouac in all situations from the 'Tierra Caliente' to the cold and elevated positions of Jalapa, Las Vegas and on the march to this place. This would under any circumstances produce diseases of the thoracic and abdominal viscera from the great change of temperature, and when it is recollected that many of the men were without blankets or great coats, having improvidently thrown them away while exposed to the scorching heat of the sun in the low country, or while hurrying to the support of the advance on the day of Cerro Gordo, I think the position will not be denied.

"2. The almost total change in the character of the rations issued to the troops, while on board the transports and during the siege operations before Vera Cruz. They were almost exclusively confined to salt meat and hard bread, without vegetables so far as I know, except beans and rice, not even the antiscorbutics allowed by regulations except in rare instances. This, when the march into the country was commenced, was exchanged for fresh mutton, pork and beef (the latter always of inferior quality), and instead of the hard bread, always considered healthy when good, in several instances flour has been issued, and since our arrival at Puebla, Mexican bread, which experience has taught us is not healthy, at least for us, and the unrestrained indulgence in crude and unripe fruits, and the vile liquors, both distilled and fermented. All this is without doubt a fruitful source of disease.

"3. The quarters that the troops occupy are undoubtedly far from being healthy. Many of the rooms are low and damp, and almost without ventilation, and in many instances surrounded by high walls which exclude in some degree the fresh air; in other cases the men are quartered in long entries, through which there is a rush of cold air, rendered more unhealthy by having passed through damp places. In some instances the men are greatly crowded, nearly three times the number of men allowed by regulations for hot climates living in one room. Almost, if not all, the quarters have thick stone walls with floors of the same material, or brick, upon which the men sleep with only a mat under them (and that but recently), and with scant covering. This the men

now suffer, and did at Perote, and the first brigade and light troops of the division, while at Tepeahualco had added very bad water from brackish wells. These things, I think, cannot be denied to be prolific sources of disease.

"4. The unacclimated state of many of our men and their ignorance of a soldier's life. Nearly if not quite two-thirds of some corps are recruits. In one regiment that has lost fifteen men since our arrival in Puebla, thirteen were recruits, and the character of the recruits that have recently joined is of such a nature that disease and death must be expected among them. Many of them are boys entirely too young to undergo the hardships of a soldier's life, while others are old and worn-out men who should never have been enlisted.

"5. The great want of personal cleanliness. Many patients are received into our hospitals who probably have not washed their persons for months, and who for weeks have not changed their underclothes, and who are not only filthy but covered with vermin. This remark does not apply, of course, to our old brave and faithful soldiers who are an ornament to any service, but particularly to the recruits, a great part of whom are indolent and of course filthy. Now, it is impossible for men to be healthy under such circumstances.

"6. The rainy season, exposure to the warm sun in the morning and cold damp atmosphere at night, is exceedingly deleterious.

"7. The great elevation of our position. The rarefied air permitting no evaporation from the surface, the skin becomes dry and feverish as well as inactive, the natural excretions of the body are of necessity thrown upon the thoracic and abdominal viscera, the large glands from this over-exertion and excitement become torpid and refuse to perform their functions, hence the great amount of bilious derangements, etc.

"The above statements I have drawn up in obedience to your orders. I consider them to be very plain facts, open to the cognizance of the most common observer who will take the trouble to investigate them. They are the concerted opinions of all the medical officers of the division, and have often been the subject of conversation, as well as of official reports. They are submitted with the respectful consideration of

"Your most obedient servant,

R. S. SATTERLEE,

"*Senior Surgeon, 1st Division, U. S. Army.*"

The report of Surgeon Tripler of the Second Division was of a similar character.

The situation of the garrisons on the gulf coast was no better. Says Assistant Surgeon Brown in his history of the medical department: "The vomito broke out at Vera Cruz very soon after the departure of the army, and the permanent garrison and the troops arriving *en route* to the seat of war had suffered severely. One medical officer, Assistant Surgeon Robert C. Wickham, died on the 13th of May, and Surgeon Finley, Medical Director of the Department of Vera Cruz, Assistant Surgeons Laub, John Campbell, J. S. Battee and others had been incapacitated for duty for a large portion of the summer by attacks of yellow fever. Even those who escaped this disease suffered much from the enervating influences of the climate and became a prey to exhausting diarrhœas, which reduced them mentally and physically. The want of medical officers was very great, and the citizen physicians obtainable for the most part adventurers who had come to Vera Cruz to see what they could pick up, and were utterly worthless. Great credit was due under these trying circumstances to the energy and fidelity to duty of Surgeon J. B. Porter, who, though himself broken down by climatic influences, managed the general hospital with great efficiency, and in addition acted as medical director for a large portion of the season."[1]

About the 10th of August, General Scott, having been reënforced so that his army numbered more than ten thousand effective men, resumed his march on the city of Mexico. On the 20th the bloody bat-

[1] Page 189.

tles of Contreras and Churubusco were won, and on September 8th the battle of Molinos del Rey added another to the uninterrupted series of victories of the Americans. Three days afterwards the heights and castle of Chapultepec were bombarded, and on the 13th carried by a heroic, desperate assault, involving heavy losses. The capture of Chapultepec laid the city of Mexico at the mercy of the conquerors. Santa Anna incontinently fled with such army as he could induce to follow him. Early the next morning public authorities visited General Scott's headquarters to surrender the city. But he would listen to no terms, and his army forthwith entered the city, took possession, and assumed the government.

With this memorable event, the war with Mexico practically closed, though, as we shall see, there was one considerable engagement in the North later. Santa Anna undertook to carry on further hostilities, but they amounted to no more than guerrilla raids, and even these did not long continue. Early in February, 1848, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, with which came actual and permanent peace. In less than two years Mexico had been completely conquered, the Americans gaining every battle during the entire war, defeating largely superior numbers in every instance, who in every instance save at Buena Vista also had greatly the advantage of position.

In all the engagements which resulted in the fall of Mexico, the losses were very heavy, in one or two of them exceptionally so. General hospitals were established at several places, and the wounded cared

for as well as was possible. The officers of the medical staff were highly complimented in most of the official reports. After the army entered Mexico, the sick and disabled were removed to hospitals within the city. The buildings used for this purpose were the best the city furnished, but were poor at best, being damp, without sufficient light or ventilation, and not easily warmed. Hence there was great mortality among the sick and wounded. Besides, low forms of fever and bowel affections largely prevailed among the troops generally, and the officers of the medical corps were again afflicted with a large amount of over-work.

Early in 1848, General Stirling Price invaded the province of Chihuahua, Mexico, and in March fought a severe engagement with the enemy at Santa Cruz, winning a complete victory. He speaks in the highest terms of the efficiency of his medical staff. This isolated engagement was the last considerable combat of the war. During the following month the Americans commenced the evacuation of the country they had so successfully invaded. This, with the army of sick and disabled on their hands, was a task hardly less difficult than had been that of invasion. The most important labors of this part of the war, it must be confessed, were performed by the medical department, in the removal and continued care of the sick and wounded to the coast, and thence by transports to the United States. This immense labor was successfully performed without notable mishap. The general rendezvous of the volunteers for discharge was New Orleans, and here and near by were great hospitals which had been prepared for the army.

The casualties of battle and the ravages of the Mexican climate had made the number of disabled and sick so great that the accommodations of these hospitals were found to be greatly inadequate, and an additional hospital of large extent was constructed. In honor of the chief medical officer of the army, it was named "Lawson Hospital." At New Orleans, and from these hospitals the volunteers of the Mexican war were mustered out of the service, and hence sought their homes in all parts of the country. The different corps of the regular army had embarked for various garrisons and posts — the number of which had been largely increased by the acquisition of California and New Mexico — from Vera Cruz.

Meanwhile Congress had made a number of additions to the medical establishment. By the act of February 11, 1847, the army had been increased by ten regiments, to each of which one surgeon and two assistant surgeons were assigned. The same act increased the regular medical staff by the addition of two surgeons and twelve assistant surgeons. This act gave definite rank to the officers of the medical corps, providing, "that the officers whose appointment is authorized by this section, shall receive the pay and allowances of officers of the same grade respectively, and that the rank of the officers of the medical department of the army shall be arranged upon the same basis which at present determines the amount of their pay and emoluments."[1] The medical officers, by virtue of such rank, were not, however, entitled to command in the line or other staff departments of the army. A clause in this law provided

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IX., 125.

that the officers authorized by it, should be immediately discharged at the close of the Mexican war. But, by a law of 1848, this clause, so far as it related to the regular additional surgeons and assistant surgeons, was repealed.[1] In March of the following year, the corps was still further increased by the addition of ten assistant surgeons.[2] Thus the corps remained until it was yet more reënforced by the act of Congress of August 16, 1856, authorizing four additional surgeons and eight assistant surgeons. An important provision of this act, was that which authorized the Secretary of War to appoint from the enlisted men of the army, or to cause to be enlisted, as many competent hospital stewards as the service might require, not exceeding one for each military post. The law also provided that soldiers acting as cooks and nurses in hospitals, were to receive the extra pay allowed to soldiers serving on fatigue duty. This made quite a just and complete organization of the medical department in all its branches. And thus it remained until the war of the rebellion.

At the beginning of the year 1861, the medical corps consisted of one surgeon-general, thirty surgeons, and eighty-three assistant surgeons. Of these, three surgeons and twenty-one assistant surgeons resigned, to join the Confederate service, and three of the latter rank were dismissed for disloyalty. Five surgeons and eight assistant surgeons, from States which joined the rebellion, remained steadfast to the Union cause. "Considering the universal disaffection which prevailed throughout the service," says Assistant Surgeon Brown, "and the strong pressure

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IX., 247. [2] *Ibid.*, 351.

brought to bear on every man of Southern birth in the army, these figures are exceedingly creditable to the corps."[1]

One of the first noteworthy events in the history of the medical department after the commencement of the war of the rebellion, was the death of Surgeon-General Lawson. In the latter part of April, he went to Norfolk in search of rest and health, but died there of apoplexy on the 15th of the following month, after a few hours' illness, and an uninterrupted service in the army of fifty years. On the 20th, the War Department issued a general order, of which the following is the text:

"It is with pain that the Secretary of War announces to the service the loss of a distinguished veteran officer, the late Surgeon-General THOMAS LAWSON, of the army, who died at Norfolk, Virginia, on the 15th instant.

"Having in 1811 resigned from the navy, where he had served two years, Doctor Lawson passed immediately into the army — a service with which, from that time, he had been uninterruptedly connected. Full of a military fire, which not even the frosts of age could quench, and of a zeal for the honor of his profession which made his administration of the medical department a model of inflexibility, efficiency, and economy, he never spared himself, and was always prompt to volunteer his services wherever they might be required.

"Thus after having gone with credit through the war of 1812–15, he was one of the first to hasten with General Gaines to the relief of our forces in Florida; and having been placed at the head of a regiment of volunteers by the suffrages of the gallant Louisianians who composed it, he acquitted himself with much

[1] Hist. of Med. Dept., 215. The latter part of the quotation is correct; the first part not, as I think. Facts warrant the statement that the disaffection in the service was considerable, but not even general, not to say universal.

credit in this new sphere of duty, and proved himself an able and effective colonel.

"In fact, so marked were the military traits in his character, and among these, especially, his personal intrepidity, that at the close of the Mexican war, he was rewarded for his services in it by a brevet of brigadier-general in the army.

"As an appropriate tribute of respect to his memory there will be fired at every military post, on the day after the receipt of this order, eleven minute guns, commencing at meridian — and the national flag will be displayed at half-mast from the same hour until sunset of the same day; and for thirty days the prescribed badge of mourning will be worn by the officers of the army."

Doctor Lawson was succeeded as surgeon-general by Surgeon Clement A. Finley, the senior surgeon in the corps. Surgeon-General Finley, it may be here stated, performed the duties of the office with fidelity, but he had continuously served since 1818, and in April, 1862, was retired at his own request. He was succeeded in the same month by Assistant Surgeon William A. Hammond, many officers of far longer service and of superior rank being overlooked, that this appointment, which in a short time resulted so sadly, might be made.

The demands of the service by the rebellion made necessary a great increase in the medical corps. The volunteer regiments first called out by the authorities were furnished, as a rule, with one surgeon and assistant surgeon. Soon afterwards, however, it was provided that each regiment should be entitled to one surgeon and two assistant surgeons, and this rule continued to obtain throughout the war. The great proportion of the increase in the number of the corps was, therefore, made up of volunteer officers, who were subject to the orders of the department, except as to where they might be stationed,

precisely the same as the regular officers. By an act of Congress of July 2, 1862, forty surgeons and one hundred and twenty assistant surgeons of volunteers were directed to be appointed. These, with others afterwards authorized, were directly under the orders of the medical department. The regular corps was also from time to time increased.[1]

[1] The organization of the corps at the beginning of 1861 has been noted. From this time until 1866, the organization, each year, as shown by the official Army Registers, was as follows:

1862.— One surgeon-general (rank of brigadier-general); forty surgeons, with the rank of major; twenty-eight assistant surgeons, with the rank of captain; seventy-six assistant surgeons, with the rank of first lieutenant; one hundred and fifty-eight surgeons of volunteers, with the rank of major.

1863.— One surgeon-general; one assistant surgeon-general, with the rank of colonel; one medical inspector-general, with rank of colonel; sixteen medical inspectors, with rank of lieutenant-colonel; fifty surgeons, majors; five assistant surgeons, captains; one hundred and four assistant surgeons, first lieutenants; six medical storekeepers; one hundred and ninety-seven surgeons of volunteers; sixty-one assistant surgeons of volunteers.

1864.— Same as in 1863, down to assistant surgeons, of whom there were three with the rank of captain; one hundred and six, first lieutenants. There were five medical storekeepers; two hundred and thirty-seven surgeons of volunteers; sixty-one assistant surgeons of volunteers.

1865.— Same as in 1863 and 1864, down to assistant surgeons. There were one hundred and five assistant surgeons, with rank of first lieutenant; five medical storekeepers; two hundred and forty-six surgeons of volunteers; one hundred and thirteen assistant surgeons of volunteers.

1866.— One surgeon-general; one assistant surgeon-general; one chief medical purveyor, rank of lieutenant-colonel; four assistant medical purveyors, with same rank; sixty surgeons, rank of major; sixty-nine assistant surgeons, with rank of captain; thirty-four, with rank of first lieutenant; one medical storekeeper; fifteen surgeons of volunteers and seven assistant surgeons of volunteers.

Early in the administration of the medical department by Surgeon-General Hammond, that officer saw the great advantage that would accrue to the cause of scientific medicine and surgery by making the experience of medical officers during the conflict of arms available for future use. But seldom in history had such an opportunity been offered for the collection of statistics upon all points of military medicine, surgery, and hygiene, and of obtaining specimens illustrative of pathological anatomy. The surgeon-general accordingly issued a circular, under date of May 21, 1862, in which full details were required to be stated in the monthly reports of sick and wounded by every officer of the corps required to make such reports. The circular pointed out the statements required so clearly that no intelligent surgeon could make serious mistake or omission in his reports. The paper further said: "As it is proposed to establish in Washington an *Army Medical Museum*, medical officers are directed diligently to collect, and to forward to the office of the surgeon-general, all specimens of morbid anatomy, surgical or medical, which may be regarded as valuable; together with projectiles and foreign bodies removed, and such other matters as may prove of interest in the study of military medicine or surgery."

This was the origin of the Army Medical Museum at Washington, confessedly one of the largest and most valuable collections of the kind in the world. It is preserved in the large building on Tenth Street, formerly known as "Ford's Theatre," for many years owned by the United States, and which is the scene where occurred the terrible assassination of President

Lincoln. Here also are many archives of the medical department, notably those very reports of medical and surgical statistics ordered by Surgeon-General Hammond's circular. These, with the immense collection of specimens in the museum, enabled the compilers of "The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion" to prepare that work, in so far as it has yet been completed, for publication, — a work whose scientific value and beneficent influence are rated at the highest point by the savants of our own country and of Europe. Not only so, but several volumes of finely-executed photographs of specimens in the museum, illustrative of every kind of surgical injury, modes of repair and results obtained, have been distributed among the leading learned societies of Europe, and exhibited at international expositions, where they have received the highest commendations of the world's leaders in medicine and surgery. So large an oak has grown from the little acorn planted by Surgeon-General Hammond in 1862. When Medical Inspector-General Barnes became acting surgeon-general, and also afterwards, when he was appointed to the head of the department, he took an enthusiastic interest in the museum, and through circulars to the corps and in every practicable way aided in enlarging and perfecting the collection.

On the 20th of August, 1864, general orders from the War Department announced that Surgeon-General Hammond had been dismissed the service by sentence of court-martial.[1] Two days afterwards,

[1] The charges against Dr. Hammond mainly related to the purchase of hospital supplies, in which, according to the sentence of

Medical Director Joseph K. Barnes was promoted to the position thus made vacant, and which, as acting surgeon-general, he had filled for a considerable period during an official journey of Dr. Hammond to the South. The new head of the department had been in the corps nearly twenty-five years, had been distinguished during the Mexican war, and always noted for assiduous labor and a lofty pride in his profession.

Surgeon-General Barnes took charge of the department at a momentous crisis of the war. General Grant's campaign of the Wilderness had just closed, leaving more than thirty-seven thousand wounded men to be cared for; the campaign of Peterburgh was going on; General Sherman had just made his remarkable march in Georgia, and was besieging Atlanta after many battles involving heavy losses; the army under Canby and the navy under Farragut had a few days before captured the strong forts making the seaward defenses of Mobile bay, and Canby was preparing for the final campaign of the South; Sheridan was making ready for that brilliant campaign which soon afterwards resulted in three victories in as many pitched battles, and in sending his enemy "whirling" out of the Shenandoah Valley. When Dr. Barnes became surgeon-general, or very

the court, he was in several instances guilty of culpable partiality. In no instance was he found guilty of acting corruptly. The Forty-fifth Congress passed an act authorizing a review of the case; but the matter is not determined as this work passes through the press. Those high in authority think the judgment in his case was unjust, and that it will be reyersed. Dr. Hammond has published several medical works of recognized authority, and his renown in his profession is coëxtensive with Christendom.

shortly thereafter, there must have been more than fifty thousand recently wounded men in the care of his department. The number of the sick and of the disabled, of campaigns not so recent, was very much greater.

These statements of themselves indicate the vast magnitude of the labors of the medical department during the war, and of the great number of men of learning and skill required to perform them. During this period, there entered the service twelve thousand one hundred and fifty-five medical officers, the corps of medical cadets authorized early in the war — and who performed most valuable services in many hospitals — not being included in this calculation. In January, 1865, there were more than two hundred general hospitals. There were four large sea-going hospital transports equipped with stores and supplies for five thousand patients, besides a considerable number of river steamers, hospital railway trains, and great numbers of ambulances. There were, of course, hospitals for every army, military camp, corps, and post in the service. From May, 1861, until June 30, 1866, there were five million eight hundred and twenty-five thousand cases treated in field and hospitals, of which one hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and twenty-three were fatal. Of these, two hundred and seventy-three thousand one hundred and seventy-five were wounded men, of whom thirty-three thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven died. The remainder were treated in various proportions for nearly all the diseases that flesh is heir to.

A remarkable series of events in the country at

large, but connected with the medical history of the army during the latter part of the year 1864 and the early part of the following year, ought, perhaps, to be here spoken of. The many great battles of the energetic campaigns of 1864, as has been noted, filled the hospitals with great numbers of wounded men. For these, and for the sick of the army generally, the sympathies of the people went out in ardent feelings. The city of Chicago, always noted for possessing a large class of citizens distinguished for humanity and philanthropy, invented a happy means of practically utilizing this popular sympathy. This was the "Sanitary Fair," that is to say, a fair of the ordinary character of a church fair, but with the profits to be applied in the purchase of delicacies and healthful luxuries for the sick and wounded soldiery,—articles not supplied, as a rule, by the medical department. Chicago struck the right idea while it was hot, and there came forth a tremendous blaze of excitement. The Fair continued during several days and nights, and was constantly the scene of vast crowds of people purchasing goods on sale, at very profitable prices for the Fair. New and singular devices for making money were invented, and when the Fair at length closed, the profits were found to be immense. New York followed the example set by Chicago with a fair, also of prodigious profits. Then it became a contagion, and all the principal and nearly all the minor cities of the North held "Sanitary Fairs," every one of which was highly successful. The sanitary fairs of 1864–65 were a remarkably grateful demonstration of the earnest humanity of the Northern people. The practical result of them

was a great relief to the army medical-chest, and such a supply of delicacies and luxuries, that henceforth the Union sick and wounded were in the main about as well cared for as if they had been at comfortable homes among opulent friends.

Soon after the surrender of the principal Confederate armies, in the spring of 1865, orders were issued by the War Department, directing the chiefs of the different bureaux of the department to "proceed immediately to reduce the expenses of their respective departments to what is absolutely necessary, in view of an immediate reduction of the forces in the field and garrison, and the speedy termination of hostilities." In accordance with this order, the labors of the medical department were for some time largely engaged in reducing the establishment to a peace basis. Boards for the examination of candidates for admission to the volunteer corps were at once dissolved; large numbers of soldiers were discharged from general hospitals, the number of which was swiftly reduced; medical purveyors were directed to suspend the purchase of hospital and medical supplies; contract physicians, civilian nurses, cooks, and other employés whose services could be dispensed with, were discharged; the assistant surgeon-general, medical inspector-general, and the medical inspectors were mustered out of service in October; and by the close of the year, the department was fairly placed upon the basis of a peace establishment.

"That the large body of men composing the medical corps during the war, numbering almost an army in itself," says Assistant Surgeon Brown, "was faithful to the important trusts confided to its charge, is evinced

not only in the numerous reports of the general officers in command of troops, but also by the special testimony of the surgeon-general, who says in his annual report for 1865:

"'In conclusion, I desire to bear testimony to the ability, courage, and zeal manifested throughout the war by the officers of the medical department, under all circumstances and upon all occasions. With hardly an exception, they have been actuated by the highest motives of national and professional pride, and the number who have been killed and wounded bears most honorable testimony to their devotion to duty on the field of battle.'

"That they did not shirk the post of danger, is most conclusively shown by the following record of the casualties of the regular and volunteer staff during the war. Thirty-two were killed in battle, or by guerrillas or partisans, and nine by accident. Eighty-three were wounded in action, of whom ten died. Four died in rebel prisons, seven of yellow fever, three of cholera, and two hundred and seventy-one of other diseases, most of which were incidental to camp-life or the results of exposure in the field, making a roll of honor embracing four hundred and nine names of those who it is a common error to consider not exposed to the dangers and chances of war."[1]

Since the war, the organization of the department has been at times changed. An act of Congress of July 26, 1876, provided "that the number of assistant surgeons now allowed by law (150) shall be reduced to one hundred and twenty-five; that the office of medical storekeeper is hereby abolished; that, in ad-

[1] Hist. Med. Dept., 245–46.

dition to the grades now allowed by law, there shall be four surgeons with the rank, pay, and emoluments of colonel; eight surgeons, with the rank, pay, and emoluments of lieutenant-colonel; to be promoted by seniority from the medical officers of the army." The act provided that no one already in office should be deprived thereof by reason of the law. This made the department, the organization being filled, to consist of: one surgeon-general, with rank of brigadier-general; one assistant surgeon-general (an office held by Charles H. Crane since July, 1866), one chief medical purveyor, and four surgeons with rank of colonel; eight surgeons and two assistant medical purveyors, with rank of lieutenant-colonel; fifty surgeons with rank of major; one hundred and twenty-five assistant surgeons with rank of first lieutenant until five years' service, then that of captain. This organization, except as to assistant surgeons — of whom the latest Register shows a deficiency of fourteen — is complete; so that should the country be again confronted with war, every appliance, intellectual and mechanical, for the care of sick and wounded, would at once be put into active operation.

Many of the labors of the medical corps, since the war for the Union, have been of a scientific and literary character. A notice has already been made of the "Medical and Surgical History of the War." Many other publications have been prepared under the supervision of the Bureau. Surgeon J. J. Woodward, in charge of the representation of the medical department at the International Exposition of 1876, in an address on September 6, thus classified the publications of the Bureau from 1863 to 1876:

Circular No. 9. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, July 1, 1863. *Consolidated Statement of Gunshot Wounds.* By Surgeon J. H. Brinton, U. S. Volunteers, pp. 11, 8vo.

Circular No. 15. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, September 8, 1863. *Sickness and Mortality of the Army during the first year of the War.* By J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 8, 8vo, with 6 diagrams.

Circular No. 6. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, March 10, 1864. *Reflex Paralysis.* By Acting Assistant Surgeons S. Weir Mitchell, Geo. R. Morehouse, and W. W. Keen, Jr., pp. 17, 16mo.

Circular No. 1. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, June 10, 1868. *Report on Epidemic Cholera and Yellow Fever in the Army of the United States during the Year* 1867. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 156, 4to.

Circular No. 2. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, January 2, 1869. *A Report on Excisions of the Head of the Femur for Gunshot Injury.* By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 141, 4to.

Circular No. 3. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, August 17, 1871. *A Report on Surgical Cases treated in the Army of the United States from* 1865 *to* 1871. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 296, 4to.

Circular No. 4. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, December 5, 1870. *Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with Descriptions of Military Posts.* By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 494, 4to.

Circular No. 5. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, May 4, 1868. *Report on Epidemic Cholera in the Army of the United States during the Year* 1866. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. xviii., 65, 4to.

Circular No. 6. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, November 1, 1865. *Reports on the Extent and Nature of the Materials available for the Preparation of a Medical*

and Surgical History of the Rebellion. Medical Report by Brevet Major J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army; Surgical Report by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Surgeon, U. S. Volunteers, pp. 166, 4to.

Circular No. 7. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, July 1, 1867. *A Report on Amputations at the Hip-joint in Military Surgery.* By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 87, 4to.

Circular No. 8. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, May 1, 1875. *A Report on the Hygiene of the United States Army, with descriptions of Military Posts.* By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. lix., 567, 4to.

Circular No. 9. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, March 1, 1877. *A Report to the Surgeon-General, on the Transport of Sick and Wounded by Pack Animals.* By George A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, 32 pp., 4to. Washington, 1877.

Circular No. 10. War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Washington, October 20, 1877. *Approved Plans and Specifications for Post Hospitals,* 18 pp., 12 pl., 4to, [with 12 plates fol.] Washington, 1877

Catalogue of the Surgical Section of the United States Army Medical Museum. Prepared, under the direction of the Surgeon-General, by Brevet Major A. A. Woodhull, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington, 1866, pp. 664, 4to.

Catalogue of the Medical Section of the United States Army Medical Museum. Prepared, under the direction of the Surgeon General, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington, 1867, pp. 136, 4to.

Catalogue of the Microscopical Section of the United States Army Medical Museum. Prepared, under the direction of the Surgeon-General, by Brevet Major E. Curtis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington, 1867, pp. 161, 4to.

Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington, 1872, pp. 454, 4to.

Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon, U. S.

Army. Vol. 1, A — L, pp. 1193, 4to. Vol. 2, M — Z, pp. 956, 4to. Supplement, pp. 319, 4to. Washington, 1873–4.

Specimen Fasciculus of a Catalogue of the National Medical Library under the direction of the Surgeon-General of the U. S. Army, at Washington, D. C. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington, 1877, pp. 72, 4to.

A Medical Report upon the Uniform and Clothing of the Soldiers of the United States Army. By Brevet Major A. A. Woodhull, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington: Surgeon-General's Office, 1868, pp. 26, 8vo.

Report on the Pathological Anatomy and Histology of the Respiratory Organs in the Pleuro-pneumonia of Cattle, with 6 lithographs from photo-micrographs. Washington, June 15, 1870, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 9, 4to. In the Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture on the Diseases of Cattle in the United States. 1871.

Report of Results of Examinations of Fluids of Diseased Cattle, with reference to the presence of Cryptogamic Growths. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. S. Billings, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, and Brevet Major E. Curtis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 12, 4to. In the Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture on the Diseases of Cattle in the United States. 1871.

Photographs of Surgical Cases and Specimens, taken at the Army Medical Museum, with histories of 296 cases. By Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington, 1866–71. 6 vols., 4to.

Reports accompanied by Photographs of Microscopic Objects, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, viz.:

Report on the Magnesium and Electric Lights as applied to Photo-Micrography, 6 pp., 4to, 11 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1870.

Report on the Oxy-calcium Light as applied to Photo-Micrography. 3 pp., 4to, 2 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1870.

Report on an improved method of photographing Histological Preparations by Sunlight. 10 pp., 4to, 11 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1871.

Report on the Histology of Minute Blood-vessels. 8 pp., 4to, 11 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1870.

Report on the Minute Anatomy of two cases of Cancer. 10 pp., 4to, 2 photo-lithographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1872.

Memorandum on Pleurosigma Angulatum and Pleurosigma Formosum. 4 pp., 4to, 8 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1871.

Memorandum on Surirella Gemma. 1 p., 4to, 2 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1871.

Memorandum on the Test Podura. 3 pp., 4to, 5 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1871.

Memorandum on Amphipleura Pellucida. 1 p., 4to, 2 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1871.

Memorandum on the Nineteen-band Test Plate of Nobert. 4 pp., 4to, 9 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1872.

Four Letters to the Surgeon-General, accompanying photographs of the Mosquito, certain Parasites, the Proboscides of certain Flies, and miscellaneous photographs of Insects and parts of Insects. 8 pp., 4to, 35 photographs. Surgeon-General's Office, 1872.

The Medical Department of the United States Army from 1775 *to* 1873. By Brevet Major H. E. Brown, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army. Washington: Surgeon-General's Office, 1873.

THE MEDICAL AND SURGICAL HISTORY OF THE WAR OF THE REBELLION, 1861–65. Prepared under the direction of the Surgeon-General. Part I., Vol. I., *Medical History*, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. xliii., 726; Vol. II., *Surgical History*, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. clv., 650. *Appendix*, containing Reports of Medical Directors, etc., pp. 365. Washington, 1870. [Actually issued in December, 1872.] Part II., Vol. II., *Surgical History*, by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, pp. 1024. Washington, 1876.

Many pamphlets and special reports, besides, were also published.

In the foregoing list of works is a "Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office," itself

a considerable work, in three large volumes, quarto. This library consists of some eighty thousand volumes and pamphlets. Some hundreds of the works belong to general literature, but the most of them pertain to medicine and surgery. They have been collected with exceptional care during many years, and the library already compares very favorably with the best medical libraries of Europe. In medical periodical literature it is especially complete.[1] Thus, with a great library, the unequalled museum, a chemical laboratory also in the museum building, the officers of the medical corps of the United States army have greater and more varied advantages of professional studies than are possessed by the medical staff of any other army on the globe.

The members of the corps, without exception, take a pride in their department. The system of examination for admission to the corps is, and always has been, so thorough and so justly administered that, in all its history, very few unworthy, undeserving men have been allowed to pass the ordeal. Hence, Doctor Brown is no more than just in concluding his history of the department with the following eulogium:

"Ninety-eight years have now elapsed since the first humble beginning of the army medical department at the siege of Boston.

[1] I must here return my grateful acknowledgments to gentlemen in the Army Medical Museum building for courtesies and assistance in my labors upon this part of this work, namely: Mr. J. P. Kepler, chief clerk; Doctor Wise, librarian, and Mr. H. C. Fisk, a clerk in this branch of the Surgeon-General's office. I am under even greater obligations to Surgeon John S. Billings, of the medical corps. This accomplished officer is now engaged in supervising the preparation of a catalogue of the library, a work which, when completed, will form six or seven large volumes.

The successors of those pioneers in American military surgery can say with pride, that during that long period they have taken no step backward. Under the leadership of such wise and accomplished chiefs as MORGAN, SHIPPEN, COCHRAN, TILTON, LOVELL, and LAWSON, the corps steadily advanced from the inchoate condition of its birth to the comparative perfection in organization, discipline, and learning to which it had attained on the outbreak of the rebellion. Under their equally distinguished successors, who were forced to meet the emergencies of a gigantic campaign with an experience gained on the most limited scale, the corps proved true to its past record, and has astonished the world, not less by the vastness of its operations than by the success of their accomplishment. During the Revolution we but copied the systems in vogue in European armies, and unavailingly endeavored to adapt them to the partisan warfare which characterized the campaigns of that period. To-day the great surgeons of Europe recognize their indebtedness to us for much that constitutes progress in military medicine, hygiene, and surgery, and European governments send special commissions to avail themselves of the vast treasures of experience accumulated by the medical department in our last great war. In the past history of the medical corps, in the gradual increase of its reputation and usefulness, in the high esteem in which it has always been held by the rest of the army, in the distinguished names which have adorned its ranks, as well as in the encomiums which have recently been so freely accorded to it, there is every encouragement to maintain a high standard of individual and professional integrity, and the *esprit du corps* which is so important an element of its very existence."

VIII. THE PAY DEPARTMENT.

If one should ask almost any soldier of the army who is the most important officer thereof, the soldier would be likely to reply, especially in time of peace, "the paymaster on pay-day." Yet this important, this indispensable department of a military establishment performs its duties so quietly, whether in peace or war, is so little mentioned in the bulletins and official reports, that its value in the service, like that

of modest merit generally, is apt to be underestimated. There is perhaps no influence so potent in the maintenance and preservation of discipline and order in armies as their just and regular payment. Without this, they would inevitably degenerate into mutinous or plundering bands. Particularly must we regard this as certain to occur in America, where the military power is entirely subordinate to the civil not only, but under no possible circumstances can wield that crushing force, if necessary, that it may in many other countries of the world, even of Christendom. Our revolutionary forefathers, upon whose self-sacrificing patriotism we constantly dilate with grateful enthusiasm, did indeed endure many terrible trials and hardships with heroic fortitude, and are fairly entitled to all the gratitude we bestow upon their memories. The one thing the continental armies did not endure with patience was the want of pay. Not to mention several less noted instances, it will be remembered that early in 1781, about thirteen hundred of the Pennsylvania line left the American camp at Morristown, with the avowed object of marching to Philadelphia and demanding their arrearages of pay of Congress. On the way they were met by British emissaries, who undertook to seduce them from their allegiance and made them liberal offers to join the British service. They spurned the offer, seized the emissaries, and delivered them up to the American authorities. Soon afterwards a delegation from Congress met the "mutineers," satisfied their present wants, and made satisfactory guarantees for the future, whereupon they instantly returned to duty. On being offered a reward for

delivering up the emissaries they declined it, saying: "Our necessities compelled us to demand justice from our government; we ask no reward for doing our duty to our country against its enemies." Later, when the war was practically closed and the army about to be disbanded, many of the best and bravest officers of the service went to the very verge of mutiny on account of the failure of the government to liquidate their pay accounts. This formidable organization came near ruining the American cause after it had been gained. Such are the disastrous results of the ill payment of armies; and it is probably true that, except in the case of the utter inability of the government, for the time being, to meet its obligations, no American army could be held together six months without pay.

The present pay department of the military establishment of the United States originated in 1821, when an act of Congress declared that the pay department should consist of a paymaster-general and fourteen paymasters.[1] Up to this time the payment of the army had, as a rule, been in charge of a chief paymaster, sometimes designated one way, sometimes another, and of officers of the line, usually lieutenants, detailed for the purpose. These officers were sometimes required also to perform duties pertaining to the subsistence and the quartermaster's department, before the organization of those bureaux. This pay corps was at different times larger or smaller, according to the exigencies of the service as viewed by Congress, as its officers also for the same reason had better pay and rank at some times

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 615.

than at others. But the principle of the organization of the corps remained the same, namely, the payment of the army by line officers detailed for the purpose. The act of 1821 practically abolished this mere pay corps and established in its place a pay department, with headquarters at the seat of government, a chief under the direct orders of the Secretary of War, and subordinates forming an independent staff. On two different occasions before the Mexican war the staff was increased, and by an act of Congress of 1847, two deputy paymaster-generals and ten paymasters were added to the regular corps.[1] Two years later, Congress provided that the pay department should consist of a paymaster-general, with rank of colonel; two deputy paymaster-generals, and twenty-five paymasters.[2] Thus the organization of the bureau continued till the act of Congress of July 28, 1866, which provided that the department should consist of a paymaster-general, with rank and pay of brigadier-general; two assistant paymaster-generals, with rank and pay of colonel of cavalry; two deputy paymaster-generals, with rank and pay of lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, and sixty paymasters, with rank and pay of major of cavalry.

But the pay corps was very largely increased during the war of the rebellion by the appointment of "additional paymasters," under a law of 1838, which authorized the President to appoint as many such paymasters as he might deem necessary, not exceeding one for every two regiments, when volunteers or

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IX., 185, Sec. 12. [2] *Ibid. Id.*, 350.

militia had been called into the service.[1] It thus transpired that the number of additional paymasters in service, in 1861, was one hundred and ten; in 1862, one hundred and seventy-one; in 1863, two hundred and ten; in 1864, three hundred and nineteen; and in 1865, three hundred and ninety.[2] On the publication of the official register for 1866, the number had been reduced to sixty-eight, and not long afterwards all had been mustered out of the service, except a few who were transferred to the regular corps.

The amount of money disbursed to the army by the pay department during the war of the rebellion was one thousand and one hundred million dollars. The total losses during this period, by defalcation and the actual loss of money, were less than one million dollars. The entire expense of paying the army, defalcations and losses inclusive, was, in round numbers, six million dollars, or less than three-fourths of one per centum of the amount disbursed. During the last war with England, the per centum of expenses and defalcations was as follows:

For expenses . . .	1.38 per centum.
For defalcations . . .	2.97 per centum.
Total	4.36 per centum.

In view of these facts, Paymaster-General Alvord, in a recent publication, very pertinently remarked: "If it cost 4.36 per centum of the amount disbursed to pay the army during the war of 1812, at the same rate it would have cost $47,960,000 to disburse the $1,100,000,000 to the army during the late civil war.

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, V., 259, Sec. 25.

[2] See the *Army Register* for the respective years.

From this deduct $6,000,000, the amount it actually cost, under the present system, to disburse the above, and we have a saving of $41,960,000, or enough to pay the expenses of the pay department in time of peace, under the present system, for over one hundred years."[1]

There have been some changes in the organization of the department since the act of 1869, not long since referred to; but it now remains about as then, except that the paymasters (majors) are fifty in number instead of sixty. At one time the rank of the paymaster-general was reduced to that of colonel, but this injustice did not long continue. The rank was restored in 1876, when Paymaster-General Benjamin Alvord was appointed a brigadier-general. According to the latest army register, Paymaster-General Alvord had for his full staff: two assistant paymaster-generals, Colonels Nathan W. Brown and Daniel McClure; two deputy paymaster-generals, Lieutenant-Colonels Franklin E. Hunt and Henry Prince; and fifty paymasters, each with the rank of major.

IX. THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

The corps of engineers may be described as the oldest and steadiest branch of the military establishment of the United States. Originating at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, it performed valuable services throughout that contest. Early organized under the government of the Constitution, it has been almost constantly cared for with kindly

[1] Remarks of Brig.-Gen. Benjamin Alvord, Paymaster-General, U. S. A., upon the Reorganization of the Army. Pamphlet, 1876, p. 5.

regard by the government, and has been less assailed, I think, by demagogues than any other portion of the army or of the military establishment. It is about the only part of the establishment which has been permitted to enjoy peace, as well during peace as during war. The reasons for this may be discovered in the outlines of the history of the corps which follow.

In the first year of the present form of government, Secretary of War Knox, in a plan submitted by him for the general arrangement of the military forces, recommended as a part of the military establishment "a small corps of well-disciplined and well-informed artillerists and engineers." Nothing came of this immediately; but, in 1794, Congress authorized the President to fortify certain harbors along the Atlantic coast, and appropriated money for the purpose. There were no engineers in the army to conduct these works, and the President directed the appointment of a number of gentlemen of foreign birth, skilled in engineering science, several of whom had served in the American army during the War of Independence. A corps of artillerists and engineers, to be incorporated with the corps of artillery in the service, the entire number to consist of nine hundred and ninety-two, rank and file, was authorized by act of Congress of May 9, 1794.[1] The Secretary of War was directed to provide for the corps the necessary books, instruments, and apparatus, and the President authorized to employ such portions of it as he should see fit in the field, on the frontiers, or in the fortifications of the sea-coast. Early in the

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 366.

following year the organization of the corps was completed. By the act creating it, the corps was to remain in service for only three years; but, by a subsequent act, it was indefinitely continued. In 1798 a second regiment of artillerists and engineers was authorized, and placed upon the same footing as the first in respect to service, instruments, books, and apparatus. It was, however, one battalion, of four companies, smaller.[1] But in the following year an additional battalion was authorized, thus making the second regiment of artillerists and engineers equal to the first regiment.[2]

In 1802, Congress, in an act fixing the military peace establishment, discontinued the corps of artillerists and engineers, creating therefrom two corps —a regiment of artillery and the corps of engineers. As to the latter, these were the provisions of the law:

"SECTION 26. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and empowered, when he shall deem it expedient, to organize and establish a corps of engineers, to consist of one engineer, with the pay, rank, and emoluments of a major; two assistant engineers, with the pay, rank, and emoluments of captains; two other assistant engineers, with the pay, rank, and emoluments of first lieutenants; two other assistant engineers, with the pay, rank, and emoluments of second lieutenant; and ten cadets, with the pay of sixteen dollars per month and two rations per day; and the President of the United States is in like manner authorized, when he shall deem it proper, to make such promotions in the said corps, with a view to particular merit and without regard to rank, so as not to exceed one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, four captains, four first lieutenants,

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, I., 552, 553.

[2] *Ibid.*, *Id.*, 725. The authority conferred by this act was conditional, however, upon foreign war, etc.

four second lieutenants, and so that the number of the whole corps shall at no time exceed twenty officers and cadets.

"SECTION 27. That the said corps, when so organized, shall be stationed at West Point, in the State of New York, and shall constitute a military academy; and the engineers, assistant engineers, and cadets of said corps shall be subject at all times to do duty in such places and on such service as the President of the United States shall direct.

"SECTION 28. That the principal engineer, and, in his absence, the next in rank, shall have the superintendence of the said military academy, under the direction of the President of the United States; and the Secretary of War is hereby authorized, at the public expense, under such regulations as shall be directed by the President of the United States, to procure the necessary books, implements, and apparatus for the use and benefit of the said institution."[1]

This was the beginning of the present corps of engineers and of the Military Academy at West Point. Only part of the officers of the corps were immediately appointed, of whom the major (Jonathan Williams), who was chief engineer, and two captains took charge of the academy. Others were engaged upon the fortifications of the coast. Nor was it long until but a single officer of the corps was left at West Point, all the others being actively engaged on the works just mentioned; "spread along our coast," in the words of Major Williams, "from one extremity of the United States to the other."

It is proper here to observe that, from this time until the year after the close of the war of the rebellion, the Military Academy remained under the charge of the corps of engineers. During this period the academy grew from a school of humble pretensions to an institution of the most complete

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 137.

character, furnishing to its cadets as thorough a military education, practically and scientifically, as could be gained at almost any other similar institution in the world. The present efficiency of the academy, everywhere acknowledged, was given to it during the sixty years' control by the corps of engineers. In July, 1866, Congress, by law, gave the superintendency of the academy to the army generally, under the direction of the Secretary of War.

In February, 1808, the corps was filled up by regular promotions, Jonathan Williams being Chief Engineer and Colonel, Jared Mansfield Lieutenant-Colonel, and Alexander Macomb and Joseph G. Swift, Majors. By an act of Congress of April 29, 1812, additions to the corps were made, so that it consisted of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, six captains, six first lieutenants, six second lieutenants, and a company of bombardiers, sappers and miners, of one hundred and thirteen enlisted men. During the war with Great Britain, as many engineer officers as could be spared from the coast were assigned to the staffs of the various generals commanding the military districts, with whom they served with credit during the war. The company of bombardiers, sappers and miners, from June, 1814, served along the Niagara frontier, and especially at Fort Erie and in the sortie from Fort Erie.[1]

In the act reducing the army after the war, Congress provided that "the corps of engineers, as at present established, be retained." Accordingly, the officers of the corps resumed the performance of duties upon the works of fortification along the coast.

[1] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., 16.

In April, 1816, Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the President to employ, in addition to the corps of engineers as organized, a skilful assistant, with compensation such as the President might think proper, but not exceeding the allowance to the chief officer of the corps.[1] This was intended to give to the corps the aid of as good engineering skill as the times afforded. Nor is it hardly possible that greater advantage of the opportunity thus offered could have been taken by the government. In November, General Simon Bernard, of the French army, was appointed to this position, with the pay and emoluments of a brigadier-general, this being the compensation to which the Chief Engineer, Brevet Brigadier-General Swift, was then entitled. General Bernard remained in our service about fifteen years, when he resigned and returned to France, having greatly benefitted the corps by his practical instructions and by many admirable works constructed by him, among them being Fortress Monroe, in Virginia.[2]

Until after General Bernard's appointment as a prominent officer in the corps of engineers there had not been put in practical operation any general system with respect to the location and construction of those fortifications on which the corps had been, and was likely to continue to be, largely engaged.

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 342.

[2] General Bernard, when he came to America, was considered one of the most accomplished engineers of Europe. He held the rank of lieutenant-general of engineers under Napoleon. After his return to France, he became aide to Louis Philippe, and lieutenant-general of engineers. He was twice minister of war under that king. He died in 1839.

Soon after he assumed the office to which he had been appointed, the following regulation of the War Department was promulgated:

"A board shall be formed, consisting of three officers of the corps of engineers, to be designated by the Secretary of War; and the officer of the corps of engineers, assigned to the superintendence of the fortifications in any particular district, shall be attached to the board as a member, when it is acting in that district.

"It shall be the duty of the officers of this board to examine, in conjunction, all those positions where important permanent works are or may be proposed to be erected. They shall select the proper sites for, and form the plans of, all new works. Where fortifications have been commenced or are finished, they shall report how far the sites for such fortifications have been judiciously selected, or whether or not the works are adequate to the defence of the respective positions; and they shall propose such alterations or additions to them as may be deemed necessary. At those places where naval can come in aid of land defenses, the board shall call upon the naval officer who shall have been assigned by the Secretary of the Navy to coöperate with the board at that station, and who, during that coöperation, shall be a member of the board.

"The report and plans adopted by the board shall be submitted, with accurate estimates by the officers of the corps of engineers, to the chief of that corps.

"The navy officer will report directly to the Secretary of the Navy.

"Any officer of the board who may disapprove of the reports and plans agreed upon by the board, may, if it be deemed necessary, submit to his chief separate and distinct reports, accompanied by the necessary plans and estimates.

"The original reports and plans agreed upon by the board, as well as those reported by any member of it, shall be submitted by the chief of the corps of engineers, with such remarks as he may deem proper, to the Secretary of War for final adoption, and they shall be deposited in the secret bureau of the Department of War.

"The chief of the corps of engineers may assign the officers of that corps attached to the board to superintend the construction of particular fortifications, when such assignment will not interfere with their duties as members of the board.

"The board shall be immediately organized, and shall consist of the following-named officers: Brigadier-General Simon Bernard, Colonel William McRee, and Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Totten; and —— ——, of the navy.

"The chief engineer will at all times furnish the board with such plans, reports, etc., as may be in his possession in relation to existing or contemplated works, and he shall designate the point at which the board shall commence its operations.

"The Secretary of the Navy will be advised through the War Department of the time when, and the place where, the board shall meet for the performance of any of the duties assigned to it by these regulations.

"GEO. GRAHAM,
"*Acting Secretary of War.*"

This board, designated a "board of engineers for fortifications," has been continued by succession from the time of its original formation, November 16, 1816, to the present. The methods prescribed by this regulation have ever since been pursued with respect to the location, planning, and executing works of fortification for our seaboards. A long series of reports of this board, from 1818 down to the present time, has been the groundwork and basis of the system of permanent fortifications which have been projected and are still in process of construction along our maritime frontiers.[1]

In April, 1818, the headquarters of the engineer department were removed to the seat of government, where the chief office has ever since remained. In

[1] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., by Gen. A. A. Humphreys, Ch. of Eng. Pamphlet, 17, 18.

the fall of this year General Swift resigned his commission in the army, and was succeeded as chief engineer by Lieutenant-Colonel W. K. Armistead, appointed colonel.

At this time "the Engineer Department"—so expressly styled by Secretary Calhoun in ordering the transfer of headquarters—included the corps of engineers, the topographical engineers, and the military academy. By orders of the Department of July 2, 1818, the topographical engineers were "arranged to the engineer department, and made subject to the orders of the chief engineer and commanding engineers."

The act of Congress of 1821, reducing the military establishment, provided "that the corps of engineers (bombardiers excepted), and the topographical engineers and their assistants, shall be retained in service as at present organized." Colonel Armistead now resigned his office of chief engineer to become colonel of the third regiment of artillery. He was succeeded by Brigadier and Brevet Major-General Alexander Macomb, who returned to service with the corps of engineers as its colonel and chief engineer.

The question of internal improvements by the federal government was for many years a topic of general political discussion in the United States. Parties divided upon it, and presidential campaigns were in large measure conducted upon this issue and kindred questions. One of the first practical measures in the series of internal improvements undertaken by the government was the "Cumberland road." The act authorizing the survey and estab-

lishment of the line of this road, being from Cumberland, Maryland, "to the State of Ohio," was passed in the year 1806, and was approved by President Jefferson. Additional appropriations were made for it every few years; its continuation, first, to Zanesville, Ohio, afterward through the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, was authorized; and, in short, it was the subject of legislation and the recipient of appropriations for more than thirty years. But in 1834 the road was surrendered to the States respectively through which it passed; after which the appropriations were granted, so much for each State, on condition of reimbursement by the States. This public work, long popularly known as "the National Road," was the most extensive work of the kind undertaken by the federal government. Many portions of it have fallen into disuse and decay; but the traveller by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, between Wheeling, West Virginia, and Columbus, Ohio, passes in plain view of the road at very many different points, and is apt to be surprised at the beautiful and solid masonry of its viaducts and the substantial nature of the work generally. Other similar works, on smaller scale, were undertaken by the government, as was also the construction of canals, the improvement of navigable rivers for purposes of commerce, and of harbors, whether of the seaboard or of our great inland lakes, for the same purposes.

Of all these works the engineer department has had charge from the beginning. In April, 1824, Congress enacted:

"That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to cause the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates to be made of the routes of such roads and canals as he may deem of national importance in a commercial or military point of view, or necessary for the transportation of the public mail, designating, in the case of each canal, what parts may be made capable of sloop navigation; the surveys, plans, and estimates for each, when completed, to be laid before Congress. That, to carry into effect the objects of this act, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to employ two or more skilful civil engineers, and such officers of the corps of engineers, or who may be detailed to do duty with that corps, as he may think proper, and the sum of thirty thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, to be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated."[1]

Under this act, a "board of engineers for internal improvements" was organized, consisting of General Simon Bernard; Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph G. Totten, of the corps of engineers; Mr. John L. Sullivan, civil engineer; and had attached to it for duty in the field, Major Abert, of the topographical engineers; and five assistant lieutenants; and Mr. Shriver, civil engineer, and five civil-engineer surveyors. Captain Poussin, of the topographical engineers, and Lieutenants Courtney and Dutton, of the corps of engineers, were on immediate duty with the board.[2]

This board, changes in its membership occurring from time to time, remained in existence about eight years. During this period, very many reconnaissances, surveys, plans, with respect to contemplated internal improvements, were made by direction of the board. But meantime a new and wonderful invention in means of transportation had been made,

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IV., 22.

[2] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., 19.

which many persons supposed would speedily throw the ordinary roads and canals into comparative disuse. This invention was the railroad, the first of which undertaken in the United States was the "Baltimore and Ohio," of which twenty-three miles were opened for use in 1830.[1] Hence it was that the reports of the board with respect to roads and canals turned out to be of no great practical value. Herein internal improvements were abandoned. But in the reports of the board, according to General Humphreys, Chief of Engineers, "the basis was laid for the system of river and harbor improvements which have since added so much to the wealth of the nation."[2]

But before the discontinuance of the board of engineers for internal improvements an event occurred of great interest to the corps and to the army. This was the appointment of Colonel Macomb, Chief Engineer, to be major-general in the army, and his assignment as commander-in-chief thereof. In relinquishing the command of the corps of engineers, General Macomb, under date of Washington, May 28, 1828, issued the following orders:

"Major-General Macomb, in leaving the office of chief engineer, which he has filled for the last seven years, to take command of the army, feels it but an act of justice to the officers attached to the engineer department to express the great satisfaction he has

[1] Poor's Man. of R.R's in U. S., 1772–73, p. xxvi. This railroad was in a few years constructed to Cumberland, the eastern terminus of the once famous "Cumberland Road," and as soon thereafter as practicable to Wheeling; thus practically destroying the usefulness of the original "national road."

[2] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., 19. This system of river and harbor improvements has been most grossly abused by several acts of Congress of late years.

experienced from their zealous and efficient coöperation in every branch of the service connected with his duties.

"To the officers of the corps of engineers he makes his fullest acknowledgments for the judicious and faithful manner in which they have directed the construction of the fortifications, and other works confided to their superintendence, and for the unceasing efforts to sustain, in whatever situation they have been placed, the honor and reputation of the corps.

"To the officers of the topographical engineers, and those detailed from the line of the army to assist in the surveys and reconnaissances relating to internal improvements, and to the gentlemen who have acted as civil engineers, Major-General Macomb in like manner tenders his acknowledgments.

"To the commissioners and superintendents for laying out and constructing roads, the chief engineer has every reason for making a public acknowledgment of their faithful and valuable services.

"To the superintendent and officers composing the staff of the military academy, he takes great pleasure in expressing his sense of their enlightened and successful exertions, to elevate and maintain the character of that valuable institution.

"And to the members of the board of engineers for fortifications, and internal improvements, too much praise cannot be given for the industry and intelligence with which they have discharged the important and arduous duties committed to them.

"In closing this order, the chief engineer cannot refrain from stating with proud satisfaction the fact, that during the period for which he has presided over the department, no loss has been occasioned to the public by any defalcation or neglect on the part of its officers, especially when it is considered that the amount of six millions of dollars has been disbursed in small sums and for items of a nature that require the greatest care and attention to satisfy the strictness of the accounting officers, and to comply with the established regulations of the department.

"The major-general will never cease to take great interest in the success and prosperity of the engineer department, and will, so far as it may be in his power, lend his aid to promote its usefulness, and, if possible, to increase its consideration in the public estimation.

"ALEXANDER MACOMB,
"*Major-General, Chief Engineer of the U. S.*"

General Macomb was succeeded as colonel and chief engineer by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Gratiot, of the corps of engineers.

Not long after Colonel Gratiot became chief engineer, the topographical engineers and their assistants were formed into an independent bureau by order of the War Department of June 21, 1831, as follows:

"1. The topographical bureau will heareafter constitute a distinct bureau of the War Department, and the officer in charge thereof will communicate directly with the Secretary of War, from whom he will receive all his orders and to whom he will make all his reports.

"2. All reports, returns, and communications from officers of the topographical engineers, or others on topographical duty, will hereafter be made to the officer in charge of the topographical bureau, through whom, in addition to his previous duties, all orders to officers of the topographical engineers, or others on topographical duty, will hereafter pass.

"4. The officer in charge of the topographical bureau will comply with any application from the chief engineer for any original document in said bureau, or for copies of the same, and for surveys for purposes of fortifications.

"P. G. RANDOLPH,
"*Acting Secretary of War.*"

After the war of the Revolution and down to the second year of the last war with Great Britain, there were no topographical engineers in the military establishment of the United States, though of course there were officers who on occasion exercised the functions of such engineers. By an act of Congress of March 3, 1813, it was provided "That the adjutant-general's, inspector-general's, and quartermaster-general's departments shall consist of the following officers, that is to say: * eight topographical engi-

neers, eight assistant topographical engineers.*" These topographical engineers and assistants are arranged in the act between the officers provided for the adjutant-general's and the inspector-general's "departments," as they are called in the act. From which we may with safety infer that the topographical engineers were intended by the law to be attached to the adjutant-general-inspector-general's department as the bureau actually existed, as we have already seen, for many years.[1] Under the act four topographical engineers and four assistants were appointed during the summer and spring of 1813, of whom six were assigned for duty to the Northern, and four to the Southern army. They were instructed "to make such surveys, and exhibit such delineations of these, as the commanding general shall direct; to make plans of all military positions (which the army may occupy) and of their respective vicinities, indicating the various roads, rivers, creeks, ravines, hills, woods, and villages to be found therein; to accompany all reconnoitring parties sent out to obtain intelligence of the movements of the enemy or of his position, etc.; to make sketches of their route, accompanied by written notes of everything worthy of observation thereon; to keep a journal of every day's movements when the army is on march, noticing the varieties of ground, of buildings, of culture, and the distances and state of the road between given points throughout the march of the day, and, lastly, to exhibit the positions of contending armies on fields of battle, and the disposition made, whether for attack or defense."

[1] See the act, U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 819.

The act of Congress reducing the army after the conclusion of peace with Great Britain made no provision for retaining the topographical engineers or any part of them, and they were accordingly mustered out of service in June, 1815. Happily, the President was authorized by the law provisionally to retain in service certain officers whose services might be of importance, and who were not expressly excluded from retention by the act. Accordingly, Majors John Anderson and Isaac Roberdeau, topographical engineers, were retained, as thus fully explained by General Humphreys:

"As the reports of the topographical engineers stationed on the frontiers were made to commanding generals of divisions or detachments, under circumstances unfavorable to a perfect and minute delineation of the objects of their attention, the peace found them in an unfinished state, although the notes and sketches of many parts of the country had been obtained with much labor and preserved with care. This circumstance being reported to the President, as well as the importance on every other consideration of retaining this branch of the army on the peace establishment, when the duties that would necessarily be assigned to it could be with better success pursued, he, on the 19th June, 1815, retained two majors, Anderson and Roberdeau, who were directed, under special orders from the War Department, to complete the surveys on the northern frontier and Lake Champlain, with some other matters which the unexpected close of the war had suspended, and to report to the Chief Engineer, General Swift, for the execution of this duty.

"These duties were performed, but, by extending those surveys and geological researches, the importance of the continuance of the corps was proportionally increased, and the succeeding Congress found them still more deeply engaged in these useful investigations than during the late war they were permitted advantageously to pursue."[1]

[1] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., 28–9.

Majors Anderson and Roberdeau addressed an elaborate memoir to Congress upon the subject of their unfinished labors, and upon the propriety of the reëstablishment of a corps of topographical engineers. This petition had the desired effect, and by act passed in April, 1816, three topographical engineers were provided for each division, and one assistant for each brigade,[1] which reinstated the corps to its former numbers and rank, still connecting it with the general staff of the army. In July, 1818, as we have seen, the topographical engineers were arranged to the engineer department. From this time forth, until their organization into a distinct bureau of the War Department in 1831, they formed the "topographical bureau of the engineer department." And after the independent organization of the corps of topographical engineers, the officers thereof rather divided the labors of the engineer corps upon works of internal improvement, on light-houses on the seaboard and the lakes, in the improvement of rivers and harbors, in military, geographical and geological reconnaissances beyond the settled western frontier, than pursued different lines of duty. There was even more work of the kinds here noted than both branches of the engineer department with the officers authorized by law could perform, and between the years 1824 and 1838 about twenty-five officers of the line and thirty civilians were employed, under directions of topographical engineers, upon the various surveys then in progress. Mention of the many works performed by this corps will be made later. Many of its officers served with distinction in the

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 297.

Mexican war and in the war of the rebellion, during which the corps was merged with the corps of engineers.[1]

I now recur to the account of the corps of engineers.

About the time when the topographical engineers became an independent bureau, works of internal improvement were at their height. Roads were being constructed in many parts of the West and South. Large sums of money were annually expended for the improvement of rivers, for work upon harbors and upon the sea-coast fortifications. The officers of the corps were laboriously engaged upon these works for a series of years.

In 1838, Congress passed an act adding to the corps one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, six captains, six first, and as many second lieutenants. By the same act, it was provided that "the pay and emoluments of the said corps shall be the same as those allowed to the officers of the regiment of dragoons."[2]

In December of the same year Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General Charles Gratiot, Chief Engineer, was dismissed the service by order of the President. This dismissal arose from the refusal of General Gratiot to settle his accounts in accordance with the decisions of a comptroller of the Treasury Department, and which the General believed were contrary to law. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph G. Totten, of the corps of engineers.[3] At

[1] By act of Congress of March 3, 1863.

[2] U. S. Stat. at Large, V., 256.

[3] This distinguished man and officer remained at the head of the engineer corps until his death, April 22, 1864, being then a

this time works on the seaboard fortifications and on the improvements of rivers and harbors were still very numerous, many of them extensive; so that about seventy different works, chiefly harbors along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and on the lakes, were transferred to the corps of topographical engineers. And still the officers of the corps of engineers had as many works in course of construction and improvement as they could with convenience superintend. I find, for examples, that in 1838 there was an appropriation of eighty thousand dollars for the complete removal of "the great raft in Red River" in Louisiana and Arkansas; of four hundred and fifty-nine thousand dollars for additional work on the Cumberland road; of thirty-seven thousand dollars for roads in Florida; of sixty-five thousand dollars for roads in Wisconsin; and very large appropriations for many and extensive improvements of rivers and harbors, and for seaboard fortifications. At this

brigadier-general and major-general by brevet. He was graduated from the Military Academy in 1805. In 1812 and 1813 he was chief engineer of the army in the campaigns on the Niagara, and was brevetted major for gallant conduct in the capture of Fort George. He was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for gallant conduct at the battle of Plattsburgh in 1814. He was chief engineer in the army under General Scott in the Mexican war, and was brevetted brigadier-general for gallantry at the siege of Vera Cruz. In 1863 he was commissioned a brigadier-general, and was brevetted a major-general shortly before his death. This celebrated man was distinguished as a soldier, a practical engineer, and a scholar. His many brevets attest his bravery and efficiency in the field; the fortifications of Newport, Rhode Island, and other works show his practical engineering skill, and several published volumes manifest his eminence as a scholar and scientist. No man was ever more beloved in private life than General Totten.

time the work of construction or improvement was going on at Fort Warren, Fort Adams, Fort McHenry, Fort Monroe, on the works in Charleston harbor, at Fort Pulaski, and at other noted military works on the sea-coast and on the northern frontier.

In May, 1846, there was added to the corps of engineers a company of sappers, miners, and pontoniers to be called "engineer-soldiers." The act organizing the company provided that it should be composed of ten sergeants, or master-workmen; ten corporals, or overseers; two musicians; thirty-nine privates of the first class, or artificers; and thirty-nine privates of the second class, or laborers. This company was speedily recruited, drilled, organized, technically instructed, and being ordered to the theatre of war arrived at Brazos Santiago on the 11th of October. The company participated in the siege of Vera Cruz and in all the operations of the army under General Scott from that time until the fall of the city of Mexico, remaining in the country until its evacuation by the Americans. Besides General Totten, some twenty officers of the corps of engineers served with distinction in the war with Mexico.

As early as 1831, officers of the engineer corps were connected with the construction of light-houses. In that year, certain moneys appropriated by Congress for the construction of light-houses on the lakes, were placed by the Treasury Department in the hands of engineer officers for disbursement, and from that time, until the organization of the light-house board, there were at all times a number of officers of the corps engaged on this duty. In 1851, Congress by law directed the President "to cause to

be detailed from the engineer corps of the army from time to time, such officers as may be necessary to superintend the construction and renovating light-houses." In the following year, the light-house board was established, the law providing that three of its members should be officers of engineers. In the just renown gained by that board for its many admirable and most useful works, the corps of engineers is entitled to a share.

The Congress called by President Lincoln, to convene at the capital July 4, 1861, to provide measures against the rebellion, which most wickedly and causelessly had been inaugurated soon after his installation as chief magistrate, promptly made known its approval of every vigorous act done by the Executive to maintain the Union and to defeat the unholy schemes of traitors. Men and money in support of the war for the Union were voted with unbounded liberality. The corps of engineers was not forgotten. By an act of August 3d, three first and three second lieutenants were added to the corps, and "the battalion of engineers" was authorized. The law provided, "That there shall be added to the corps of engineers, three companies of 'engineer-soldiers,' to be commanded by appropriate officers of said corps, to have the same pay and rations, clothing and other allowances, and to be entitled to the same benefits in every respect, as the company created by the act for the organization of a company of sappers and miners, approved May 15, 1846. And each of the companies of 'engineer-soldiers' shall hereafter be composed of ten sergeants, ten corporals, two musicians, sixty-four privates of the first class, or artifi-

cers, and sixty-four privates of the second class — in all, one hundred and fifty men." A few days later, Congress authorized an addition to the corps of two lieutenant-colonels and four majors. Thus the corps of engineers, with between forty and fifty officers, and a full battalion of "engineer-soldiers," entered upon the labors of the late war. The corps of topographical engineers was not very much smaller in the number of officers, and among them were not a few now distinguished names. I recall those of Generals A. A. Humphreys (now chief engineer), George G. Meade, John Pope, William F. Smith, G. K. Warren, and John G. Parke.

But in the very midst of the war, as we have seen, the topographical engineers were disbanded. The provisions of the law abolishing that corps and reörganizing the corps of engineers, being an act of Congress approved March 3, 1863, were as follows:

"That the corps of topographical engineers, as a distinct branch of the army, is hereby abolished, and from and after the passage of this act is merged into the corps of engineers, which shall have the following organization, viz.: One chief engineer, with the rank, pay, and emoluments of a brigadier-general; four colonels, ten lieutenant-colonels, twenty majors, thirty captains, thirty first lieutenants, and ten second lieutenants.

"SECTION 2. That the general officer provided by the first section of this act shall be selected from the corps of engineers, as therein established, and that officers of all lower grades shall take rank according to their respective dates of commission in the existing corps of engineers or corps of topographical engineers.

"SECTION 3. That no officer of the corps of engineers below the rank of field-officer shall, hereafter, be promoted to a higher grade before having passed a satisfactory examination before a board of three engineers senior to him in rank; and should the officer fail at such examination, he shall be suspended from pro-

motion for one year, when he shall be reëxamined, and, upon a second failure, shall be dropped by the President from the army."

The corps was actively engaged during the war not only in the performance of the engineering duties demanded in the field and in the different sieges of the long conflict, but in addition supplied to the army some of its most distinguished and two or three of the most illustrious of the Union general officers. Of these mention may be here made — in addition to those already named of the topographical engineers — of Generals James B. McPherson, John G. Barnard, H. G. Wright, John Newton, Q. A. Gillmore, Godfrey Weitzel, John G. Foster, Henry W. Benham, George W. Cullum, O. M. Poe, Z. B. Tower, and Daniel P. Woodbury. General Humphreys states that there were thirty-three officers who either held or had held commissions in the corps of engineers appointed general officers in command of troops, of whom a majority became major-generals of volunteers or in the regular army; eight commanded armies, and ten others army corps.[1]

Upon the death of General Totten in 1864, Colonel Richard Delafield was promoted to be chief engineer, and commissioned brigadier-general accordingly. He remained in charge of the bureau only a little more than two years, being retired in August, 1866, by direction of the President, he having then been in service in the corps for more than forty-five years.[2]

[1] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., 23.

[2] General Delafield was a man of a retiring nature, of very considerable abilities, and of great capacity to study. For many years he was Superintendent of the Military Academy. He was ordered to Europe to observe the Crimean war, and his report,

General Delafield was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel and Brevet Major-General Andrew A. Humphreys.[1]

Only a few days before General Humphreys became chief engineer, Congress (act of July 28, 1866,) provided:

"That the corps of engineers shall consist of one chief of engineers, with the rank, pay, and emoluments of a brigadier-general; six colonels, twelve lieutenant-colonels, twenty-four majors, thirty captains, and twenty-six first and ten second lieutenants, who shall have the pay and emoluments now provided by law for officers of the engineer corps.

"That the five companies of engineer-soldiers and the sergeant-major and quartermaster-sergeant, heretofore prescribed by law, shall constitute a battalion of engineers, to be officered by officers of suitable rank detailed from the corps of engineers; and the officers of engineers, acting respectively as adjutant and quartermaster of this battalion, shall be entitled to the pay and emoluments of adjutant and quartermaster of cavalry."

The organization of the corps remains as thus provided to this time (1879) except that the engineer

published in 1860 (quarto), gave him much celebrity. He died at Washington in November, 1873.

[1] General Humphreys was graduated from the Military Academy in 1831, and was assigned to the Second Artillery. He served some time in Florida, and was distinguished for gallantry in the Indian war. He resigned in 1836, but in 1838 was commissioned first lieutenant in the topographical engineers. He served in that corps until its abolition, when he was transferred to the corps of engineers. Early in the late civil conflict he entered upon duty in the field, and served as a general officer till the close of the war. He was distinguished at Fredericksburgh, Chancellorsville, Gettysburgh, Petersburgh, and in the final pursuit of Lee's army. He long commanded the second army corps. He is the author of a number of scientific works and reports, and a member of several learned societies and bodies.

battalion was very largely reduced by operation of the act of June 16, 1874, reducing the number of enlisted men in the army to twenty-five thousand men.

Of late years, the engineer department has had charge of the public buildings and grounds of the national capital. An act of Congress of March 2, 1867, abolished the office of commissioner of public buildings, providing that the chief engineer of the army should perform all the duties of that office, and also have the superintendence of the Washington Aqueduct, and all the public works and improvements of the government of the United States in the District of Columbia, unless otherwise provided by law. By an act of 1874 for the government of the District of Columbia, Congress provided:

"That the President of the United States shall detail an officer of the engineer corps of the army of the United States, who shall, subject to the general supervision and direction of the said board of commissioners, have the control and charge of the work of repair and improvement of all streets, avenues, alleys, sewers, roads, and bridges of the District of Columbia; and he is hereby vested with all the power and authority of, and shall perform the duties heretofore devolved upon, the chief engineer of the board of public works."

Under this provision, Lieutenant Richard L. Hoxie was designated by the Secretary of War to take charge of this important position. He remained in charge thereof, giving very general satisfaction to the public by the manner in which he discharged his duties, until the government of the District was again remodelled in 1878. The law establishing the present government of the city provided that one of the three

commissioners should be an officer of the corps of engineers, and that he should be appointed to the commission by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The act requiring the engineer commissioner to be of higher rank than that held by Lieutenant Hoxie, he was prevented from longer being the chief engineer of the District. Major William J. Twining, corps of engineers, was appointed commissioner by President Hayes and promptly confirmed by the Senate. He has thus far filled the office with the greatest acceptability to the critical public of the capital, which, under the spirit of private enterprise and public improvement that has prevailed during recent years, is rapidly becoming the most beautiful city in the world.[1]

The labors of the corps of engineers have been very great and various, from the organization of the corps to the present time. The first works upon which its officers were employed were the sea-coast fortifications. These, up to about the year 1818, were of a temporary character, but since that time all the works constructed have been of the best kind known to military engineering. They are scattered all along the Atlantic coast and that of the gulf of Mexico from Maine to Texas, and a few now guard our harbors on the Pacific coast. Among the more celebrated of these works, perhaps, are Forts Warren,

[1] In a conversation with Mr. W. W. Corcoran in the latter part of 1878, I said it was probable that Washington in ten years would be the handsomest city in the world. To which he replied: "Washington is the most beautiful city in the world now." He had seen most of the cities of Christendom, and on this point must be regarded as an authoritative judge.

Independence, Adams, Hamilton, McHenry, Monroe, Sumter, Pulaski, and Pickens, though there are others hardly less extensive and formidable.

Preëminently, the corps of engineers has been a pioneer, opening up the American continent to material development, and making it ready as a field of progressive civilization. Up to about the year 1831, American progress was slow, in comparison of what it afterwards became. Contemporaneously with the use of railways, the rate of that progress was greatly accelerated. There were many causes leading to this, no doubt, but among them all, none was of more potent influence, perhaps, than railroads. The power of these means of transportation in the augmentation of trade and commerce is mysteriously prodigious. They might seem to infuse into communities some of the tremendous vigor and speed of the "iron horse." Their practical success appears to have given the American people a progressive spirit not before possessed in the same high degree. Nevertheless, it is not wise to despise the day of small things. Before the era of railroads, there were wagon-roads and canals. In the survey and construction of the primitive roads of the country, after the establishment of our present form of government, the corps of engineers was almost constantly engaged to lesser or greater extent. Up to the time of the introduction of railroads, "its officers," as is truly said by General Humphreys, "were to a great degree the repositors, in this country, of that knowledge which was requisite for the purpose of making accurate surveys. The location and construction of the roads, canals, and bridges built for the development of the resources

of the country, and the accurate methods of surveying, geodetic, topographic, and hydrographic, now in use, are in a great measure due to the talents and labors of its officers."[1]

The corps of engineers was thus the pioneer of the pioneers, preparing for the latter, by the construction of military and other roads, ways to the frontiers, and then many other roads for the use and convenience of the settlements, towns, and cities. There are many men now living in Detroit, who remember when officers of the corps of engineers were engaged in constructing a road from that city to the then much smaller city of Chicago; just as there are men living in Milwaukee who remember a similar thing as to a road between "the town of Milwaukee" and a point on the Mississippi River opposite Dubuque. These are but examples of hundreds of such facts that might be given. And later, when railroads became the great means of transportation, the corps of engineers was still preëminent in preparing the way for the construction of these thoroughfares. In the early part of the history of railroads in America, officers of the corps were frequently engaged in the survey of routes, and in the superintendence of the construction of bridges and of difficult places in the lines of survey. Later, the great demand for engineering skill produced many civil engineers, capable of surveying and constructing these works—some of whom achieved wonderful triumphs in engineering skill—so that the labors of the officers of the engineer department came to be mainly confined to works of a national character. The most notable instance of the

[1] Hist. Sketch of Corps of Eng., 35.

labors of the department herein was in the case of the surveys of the routes for railroads from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. This immense work, or rather these great works — for no less than four routes were surveyed, all but one with much thoroughness — were undertaken and completed during the years 1853–56, and full reports with regard thereto submitted to Congress by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, in 1855 and 1856. Supplemental reports were published some two years later. Engaged in these surveys, and in the preparation of reports relating thereto, were Captain George B. McClellan, corps of engineers; Major W. H. Emory, Captains H. Stansbury, J. W. Gunnison, John Pope, A. A. Humphreys, and Lieutenants A. W. Whipple, John G. Parke, R. S. Williamson, G. K. Warren, and H. L. Abbot, of the topographical engineers. Others were doubtless employed in the great amount of office work necessary in editing the reports; and in much of the scientific portions thereof, the illustrious Professor Joseph Henry, and his assistants in the Smithsonian Institution, contributed valuable and willing assistance. Notes of the surveys of Captain John C. Frémont, topographical engineers, made by him in 1849, were also made use of.

The routes surveyed were at the time known as that of the thirty-second degree of north latitude; that of the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth; that of the forty-first and forty-second; and that of the forty-seventh and forty-ninth degrees. These correspond, approximately, to the lines now popularly known as the Southern or Texas Pacific; the Kansas Pacific; the Union-Central Pacific; and the Northern Pacific;

but one of which has been completed across the continent, though much work has been done on all the others, and they are operated for large distances. In performing the labors of these great surveys, the different surveying corps were frequently encompassed by difficulties, and even by dangers. But the force, with the military escort, was in each case considerable, so that all the difficulties were surmounted, and the dangers warded off. The gratifying fact was made known that there were several practicable railroad routes from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Of the invaluable labors of the War Department, in thus showing how a vast expanse might be opened up to development and settlement, commerce has already taken large advantage, to the incalculable benefit of our country; but all the just commercial profits and national benefits clearly shown to be practicable by the Pacific Railroad surveys, cannot be fully enjoyed until several lines shall have been completed.

The reports of the Pacific Railroad surveys, prepared under the direct supervision of the engineer department, are contained in thirteen large volumes, quarto. The reports of the surveys proper, though in themselves extensive, and including very many profiles, maps, and other illustrations, yet form, after all, but a comparatively small portion of the whole work. The vast area of country embraced in the surveys, is described as to its soil, climate, geology, botany, zoology. There is an entire volume upon the birds of the country included in these surveys, with very many illustrations in colors; another on the mammals; still another on the fishes. These volumes

were edited and revised by Professors Henry and Baird, of the Smithsonian Institution. Others are upon the various Indian tribes and nations who were found in the country, with dissertations upon their languages, traditions, modes of life, religions, and superstitions. All the volumes are profusely and, for the time, richly and beautifully illustrated with engravings on stone. It is safe to say, I judge, that at the time of its publication, this work was the most valuable contribution to commerce and to science that had ever been prepared from actual surveys and reconnaissances in the field. The entire work cannot be bought except at fabulous price.

Akin to this work are the works on "United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian," and "United States Geological Explorations of the Fortieth Parallel." The surveys and reconnaissances, from the reports of which the former work was prepared (so far as it has been published), were in charge of Lieutenant George M. Wheeler, corps of engineers. Hence the work is quite generally known as "Wheeler's Reports." It is in six thick quarto volumes, the first being upon the "Geography" of the region explored; the second is entitled "Astronomy and Barometric Hypsometry," and is very largely composed of tables of astronomical observations, and of barometrical registrations, particularly with regard to the moisture of the atmosphere; the third is on the "Geology" of the region; the fourth, "Paleontology;" the fifth, "Zoology;" the sixth, "Botany." Besides the labors of Lieutenant Wheeler himself in the preparation of these volumes for publication, they received assistance from very

many well known scientists. The work is largely and most artistically, but not too profusely illustrated, and there accompany it many separate atlas sheets portraying the geology of different portions of the region. It is an enduring monument to the energy, fortitude, and skill of Lieutenant Wheeler and his assistants in the field, and to the abilities and industry of his scientific coadjutors in the study. It is eminently creditable to the scientific literature of our country and of our times.

What has just been said of the work under the charge of Lieutenant Wheeler may with equal truth be said of the work on the "Geological Explorations of the Fortieth Parallel." This work, in the field and in the study, was under charge of Mr. Clarence King, United States Geologist, serving under the direct orders of the chief of engineers. The published work upon these explorations, made during the practicable seasons of about ten years, includes six heavy quarto volumes and a geological and topographical atlas. The first volume is entitled "Systematic Geology;" the second, "Descriptive Geology;" the third, "Mining Industry;" the fourth, "Ornithology and Paleontology;" the fifth, "Botany;" the sixth, "Microscopic Petrography." In the field labors and in the preparation of this great scientific work—in large proportion no less valuable to practical than to scientific men—a considerable number of energetic and enthusiastic scientists rendered assistance to Mr. King. The territory surveyed is a belt about one hundred and seven miles broad and eight hundred miles long, extending from the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains to the Sierra Nevada of California, or almost

across the Cordilleras of North America, where they are broadest.[1] This great expanse, when this survey was commenced, had not been penetrated by the Pacific Railroad, and but little accurate information in regard to it was in existence. The singularly interesting and in many parts fascinating work prepared by Clarence King and his assistants has made it as well known to the scientific and literary circles of Christendom as almost any other portion of the world. The illustrations throughout the entire work are wonderfully fine; preëminently beautiful, I think, in the volumes most recently published.[2]

These three works — the reports on the Pacific Railroad surveys, and those generally called "Wheeler's Reports" and "Clarence King's Reports" — supply an extent and variety of information, of interest and value to merchants and traders, agriculturists, stock-raisers, miners, and scientists the worth of which it

[1] Vol. I. of work in review, p. 763.

[2] The last volume of the series to be published was volume one. In his letter to General Humphreys, chief of engineers, transmitting the volume, Mr. King says:

"For the freedom of action you have always granted me, for your generous bestowal of every needed facility, and above all for your wise and just guidance of the general plans of the work, I beg to offer my warmest thanks.

"That which a student of geology most earnestly longs for, I have freely received at your hands, and whatever value this report may possess, either as a permanent contribution to knowledge or as a stepping-stone worthy to be built into the great stairway of science, I feel that the honor belongs first to you.

"For those who are to continue the arduous labor of American field study, I can wish no happier fortune than to serve within the department which you command."

It may be proper to say that the large edition of the work supplied to the War Department was almost immediately exhausted. It would be just for Congress to authorize another and a larger edition.

would be difficult to over-estimate. To these add the reports on the Rocky Mountain region, by Major J. W. Powell and Professor F. V. Hayden, geologists of the Department of the Interior, and we have about all that could be desired save further volumes in completion of the work, thus far so admirably done, for every part of that immense portion of our country.

The improvement of rivers and harbors in the interest of commerce has been almost exclusively under the control of the corps of engineers during the entire history of the government. Now and then Congress has authorized work of this class to be done by private parties, a noteworthy instance of which is the undertaking at this time (1879) in progress—the attempted improvement of the navigability of a mouth of the Mississippi River by a system of jetties. The work is in charge of a civil engineer to whom large sums of money have already been paid, and many public journals have spoken in confident terms of the ultimate success of the plan. Nevertheless, not a few of our most scientific engineers have little doubt of its ultimate failure. A few other works of less note in the improvement of rivers have been done by private parties. But all the great works in the improvement of our harbors, whether on sea-coast or lake shore, from the removal of the obstructions at "Hell Gate" in New York bay to the dredging of sand from in front of Michigan City, have been done under the supervision of the corps of engineers, as have nearly all the works on the rivers of the interior, from the "improvement" of the Father of Waters to that of lesser streams "which

only contain water when it rains."[1] On our harbors and rivers great sums of money have been disbursed through the corps of engineers, and very many works of high engineering skill constructed.

In a degree related to these labors upon rivers and harbors have been the services of the corps in the construction of light-houses and in the surveys of the Northern and North-western lakes. The planning and construction of light-houses, beacons, and all fixed aids to navigation have been for years among the duties of the corps. The surveys of our magnificent lakes of the interior of the continent have all been made by the corps of engineers; and the work is not yet completed. The reports of these surveys, with their charts and maps, have been of incalculable value to the hardy mariners of the lakes and to both our domestic and our foreign commerce; for during many years there has been a large direct trade between the principal cities of the lakes and some of the ports of Europe.

Says General Humphreys: "The surveys, examinations, and constructions which have been made by officers of the corps, have not been confined to such matters as are solely in charge of the War Department. From time to time, the State Department, the Navy Department, the Treasury Department, and the Interior Department have employed its officers in the running of boundary lines, and the surveys for the maps necessary to be used in delicate diplomatic

[1] This was the witty objection made by General John A. Logan, United States Senator from Illinois, to appropriations for certain rural rivers in a River and Harbor bill a few years ago. Nevertheless, the bill passed.

negotiations; in the surveys for, and the construction of, dock-yards; the surveys for canal-routes across the Isthmus of Panama; upon astronomical observations in the interests of science; in the survey of the coasts, the planning and construction of light-houses; the planning and construction of public buildings, of custom-houses, post-offices, marine hospitals, etc."[1]

The great extent and variety of the public services of the corps of engineers are shown in a notable manner by its publications, professional, literary, and scientific. At the Centennial Exposition, held at Philadelphia in 1876, among the things exhibited by the War Department, were the publications of the engineer department. The list of the titles of these publications, including a few volumes of reports of explorations conducted under other branches of the Department of War, made a pamphlet of twenty-seven octavo pages. Of the professional and miscellaneous works prepared under the auspices of the engineer department there were more than one hundred volumes and thick pamphlets. There were about five hundred photographic and stereoscopic views of as many localities taken in the course of the different surveys and reconnaissances in the West. There were military maps of nearly all the great battles and sieges of the late war of the rebellion. There were a great many topographical maps, some fifty lake survey charts, and a considerable number of diagrams relating to fortifications. Since that time, several works of value to the profession have been published. The annual reports of the department of engineers have for many years been rich

[1] Hist. Sketch Corps of Eng., 35.

treasures of information. The last report yet published — that of the year 1877, printed during the following year — formed two volumes, octavo, making more than fourteen hundred and fifty pages. It embraces, besides the comprehensive summary by the chief of engineers, full reports of the many operations of the corps, in labors upon sea-coast defenses, light-houses, river and harbor improvements, surveys of the lakes and the upper Mississippi River, work on the public buildings and grounds of the District of Columbia, with a full *resumé* of the surveys and reconnaissances in the West. It is illustrated with many maps, charts, and etchings, and is a valuable contribution to practical engineering science in about all of its branches.

Such is a brief and imperfect outline of the history of the organization and public services of this honored branch of the American military establishment. It has disbursed vast sums of money — for many years many millions annually — without defalcation and without scandal. It has constructed the roads for the pioneers of our national development from the Appalachian range to the Pacific coast. Its labors upon military works, upon internal improvements other than roads, have been prodigious. Its contributions to scientific literature, through elaborate reports upon its engineering works and its surveys, have given credit to our country among the best minds of Europe. It has given to the army some of the most illustrious generals of the republic; and thus in a double manner has added to the nation's fair renown through the triumphs of the sword and the triumphs of the pen.

X. THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

The ordnance department was organized in 1812, a short time before the declaration of war with Great Britain. The organizing act provided that the department should consist of a commissary-general of ordnance, an assistant commissary-general, four deputy commissaries, and as many assistant deputy commissaries as the President might deem necessary, not exceeding eight. The commissary-general was authorized to employ skilled workmen and laborers as in his judgment they might be needed in the interest of the public service. Under this act the chief officer of the department was entitled to the rank, pay, and emoluments of a colonel of infantry, with allowances for clerk hire; the assistant to the rank, etc., of a major of infantry, with three additional rations per day; the deputies to the rank, etc., of a captain, with two additional daily rations and forage for one horse; the assistant deputies to the rank, etc., of a second lieutenant, with one additional ration per day. Liberal wages were provided for the workmen, with rations added. The duties of the department were specifically set forth in a section of the act as follows:

"That it shall be the duty of the commissary-general of ordnance to direct the inspection and proving of all pieces of ordnance, cannon-balls, shells, and shot procured for the use of the army of the United States; and to direct the construction of all carriages and every apparatus for ordnance, for garrison and field service, and all ammunition-wagons, pontoons, and travelling-forges; also the direction of the laboratories, the inspection and proving the public powder, and the preparing of all kinds of ammunition for garrison and field service; and shall, half-yearly, examine all ordnance, carriages, ammunition, and apparatus in

the respective fortresses, magazines, and arsenals, and cause the same to be preserved and kept in good order."

Further sections provided:

"That the commissary-general of ordnance shall execute all orders issued by the Secretary for the Department of War, in conveying all ordnance, ammunition, and apparatus to the respective armies, garrisons, magazines, and arsenals; and, in time of war, he shall execute all orders of any general officer commanding in any army or garrison for the supply of ordnance, ammunition, carriages, pontoons, forges, furnaces, or apparatus for garrison, field, or siege service, and forward the same without delay and in good condition; and that the assistant commissary-general of ordnance, the deputy commissaries, and assistant deputies, shall faithfully, and without delay, execute all orders that shall be issued by the Secretary for the Department of War, the commanding general in time of war of any corps, camp, or garrison, or of the commissary-general of ordnance in their respective departments, by virtue of this act."

Provisions for the keeping of accounts and rendering returns with respect to all property pertaining to the department were made.[1] In August of the following year, five additional deputy commissaries were authorized to be appointed, at the discretion of the President.[2] By a provision in an act of Congress of March 30, 1814, a military status not before had by them was given to the workmen of the bureau. This provision was: "That the commissary-general of ordnance may employ in his department, besides blacksmiths and wheelwrights, other mechanics, such as the public service may require, who shall, together with the said blacksmiths and wheelwrights, be mustered under the

[1] Act of May 14, 1812, U. S. Stat. at Large, II., 732–34.

[2] *Ibid.*, III., 75.

general name of artificers; and such artificers, being hereafter, or having been heretofore enlisted to serve for the term of five years or during the war, shall be entitled to the same annual allowance of clothing as is or may be provided for the soldiers of the army; that the laborers who may hereafter be enlisted to serve in the ordnance department for the term of five years or during the war, shall be entitled to a bounty of twenty-five dollars in money, and the same allowance of clothing as that provided for soldiers."[1]

Such was the organization that supplied the army with all kinds of ordnance and of ammunition during the last war with Great Britain. Though organized on the very eve of the war, the department was enabled to perform its duties herein with promptness and efficiency. For before the close of the eighteenth century, the government had established two armories, one at Springfield, Massachusetts; the other at Harper's Ferry, Virginia; and these, in the charge of civilian superintendents, had formed a valuable substitute for an ordnance department, in the manufacture and distribution of arms other than ordnance. Sundry foundries in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the District of Columbia had been employed on government account in the manufacture of cannon, so that when the war with England was declared, there was ample supply of brass and iron ordnance, and of ordnance ammunition. In his annual message in December, 1811, President Madison truly said, "the manufacture of cannon and small arms, and the stock and resources

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 115, secs. 16, 17.

of all the necessary munitions are adequate to emergencies."

The department was managed so handsomely during the war, that the conflict had practically but barely ceased, when the bureau was reörganized, the nomenclature of its officers changed, and its duties and powers and responsibilities enlarged. The substantial provisions of the act of reörganization were as follows: That the department should consist of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, ten captains, and of first, second, and third lieutenants, ten each; that the senior officer might enlist for the service of the department, as many master armorers, master carriage-makers, master blacksmiths, artificers, armorers, carriage-makers, blacksmiths, and laborers as the public service, in his judgment, under the direction of the Secretary of War, might require. The duties of the department were considerably enlarged over what they had been under the former law, as will be seen by the following section of the act of 1815:

"That it shall be the duty of the colonel of the ordnance department to direct the inspection and proving of all pieces of ordnance, cannon-balls, shot, shells, small-arms, and side-arms, and equipments procured for the use of the armies of the United States; and to direct the construction of all cannon and carriages, and every implement and apparatus for ordnance, and all ammunition-wagons, travelling-forges, and artificers' wagons, the inspection and proving of powder, and the preparation of all kinds of ammunition and ordnance stores. And it shall also be the duty of the colonel, or senior officer of the ordnance department to furnish estimates, and, under the direction of the Secretary for the Department of War, to make contracts and purchases for procuring the necessary supplies of arms, equipments, ordnance, and ordnance stores."

It was also provided: That the chief of the department, or the senior officer thereof in any district, should execute all orders of the Secretary of War, and, *in time of war*, the orders of any general or field officer commanding any army, garrison, or detachment, for the supply of arms, ammunition, ordnance, carriages, forges, and apparatus, for garrison, field, or siege service; that the keepers of all magazines and arsenals should report to the ordnance department at least quarterly, giving full returns of all ordnance property in their charge; that the public armories should be placed under charge of the department; that the head of the department, under the direction of the Secretary of War, should be authorized to establish depots of arms, ammunition, and ordnance in such parts of the United States as he might deem necessary; and that the pay, emoluments, and allowances of the officers of the department should be the same as those of similar grades in the artillery.[1]

This organization of the department remained without change for six years, during which period all ordnance affairs were conducted in the best interests of the government and the people. Arsenals were established in different parts of the country; arms were largely manufactured, and distributed promptly to the militia, or stored in the arsenals and military depots; the character of the arms, large and small, was from time to time improved. As rapidly and efficiently as possible, within the country's limits of just expenditures, we were being prepared against the exigencies of war.

[1] Act of Feb. 8, 1815, U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 203 *et seq.*

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[1] Act of Feb. 8, 1815, U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 203 *et seq.*

Nevertheless, by the act of Congress of 1821, reducing the military peace establishment, the ordnance department, as an independent bureau, was abolished. It was merged in the artillery. The provision of the act was in these words: "That the ordnance department shall be merged in the artillery; and that the President of the United States be authorized to select from the regiments of artillery, such officers as may be necessary to perform ordnance duties, who, while so detached, shall receive the pay and emoluments now received by ordnance officers, and shall be subject only to the orders of the War Department." One supernumerary captain was provided for each regiment of artillery to perform ordnance duty."[1] The provision making the artillery officers subject only to the orders of the War Department while on ordnance duty, was almost tantamount to preserving the independence of the bureau, and must be regarded as a manifestation by Congress of a want of confidence in the success of the general provision of merger.

The act thus singularly merging the ordnance department in the artillery, was passed in the interests, as was supposed, of economy, simplicity of organization, and thoroughness of instruction. Experience proved that neither interest was at all subserved. The only material mistake, as I think, made by Secretary Calhoun during his long administration of the War Department, was his recommendation of this measure. He said: "By uniting the three corps of the ordnance, light artillery, and artillery in one, appointing one general staff at the head of it, and

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, III., 615.

making its officers pass in rotation through the three services, the organization of the army will be rendered more simple and the instruction of the officers much more complete." In this reasoning there somewhere lurked a fatal flaw; for the practical result was precisely the opposite of that predicated by the eminent Secretary.

It would appear that no little of the erroneous opinion pertaining to the propriety of merging the ordnance department in the artillery, grew out of the name — *ordnance* department. In the origin of the department, this name was well enough, perhaps; for then it had only to do with ordnance, implements pertaining to ordnance, and ammunition. But the law of 1815 enlarged its duties and labors, so that the jurisdiction of the department was over all arms used by all branches of the army and all kinds of ammunition, and accoutrements. I find, for example, that under the act of Congress for arming the whole body of the militia of the United States, the following arms and equipments were transmitted to the executives of the different States and Territories by the ordnance department between 1815 and 1821, namely: muskets, rifles, pistols, cavalry sabres, non-commissioned officers' swords, cartridge boxes and belts, bayonet scabbards and belts, bugles, drums, fifes, six-pounder cannon, six-pounder carriages, caissons, twenty-four pounder howitzers, twenty-four pounder howitzer carriages, ammunition wagons.[1] In this distribution there were forty-five cannon and nearly thirty-three thousand muskets and rifles. Facts like these show that if the name of the de-

[1] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Af., II., 485.

partment were descriptive, it might well be called the department of all arms. In reason there would be no less appropriateness in merging the ordnance department in the infantry, or in the cavalry, than in the artillery; because for those the department manufactures the arms and warlike implements as well as for that. A cavalryman is none the better soldier for knowing how to make a sabre, nor an infantryman because he may be skilful in making the best of modern rifles. Soldiers are made by the practice not by the manufacture of arms.

This substantive truth was most clearly demonstrated by the unfortunate experiment of merging the ordnance department with the artillery. The artillery was not a jot or tittle benefitted by the merger with respect to skill and efficiency in practice, while the ordnance department to some extent suffered thereby. Though the reasons for this fact are perfectly plain to most persons who have candidly and thoroughly examined the subject, yet are they not apparent to others. A simple illustration may serve to make the matter clear. Suppose the bureau of military justice were merged in the cavalry arm of the service; officers thereof with a knowledge of military law, being detailed from year to year, to perform the duties now so admirably and ably performed by Judge Advocate-General Dunn and his accomplished corps of assistants. Every one with a knowledge of the subject will perceive that we should soon have a lamentable travesty on military justice. Indeed, it will be thought by some that this is an extreme illustration. In reality it is not. The bureau of military justice should be, as it happily is,

in the charge of men of long years of study and of professional training in the science of jurisprudence in all of its manifold branches. Men of hap-hazard study and practice would be entirely incompetent to administer its affairs with success. The duties of what we call the ordnance department are professional or scientific, as well as administrative. A knowledge of mathematics, mechanics, chemistry is requisite, and a thorough scientific as well as practical knowledge of metallurgy. A skilled ordnance officer must also be an adept in the laws of electricity. His knowledge of machines must be great and comprehensive. He must know about all there is known on the mysterious properties of explosives. He should be well acquainted with all modern useful arts, and especially should he be familiar with the improvements constantly being made by our own and many other nations in all the destructive means of war. All this as in the case of those competent to form an honorable bureau of military justice requires years of study and of patient application. There never would have been the Rodman gun, had the ordnance department continued to be mainly composed of officers temporarily detailed from the artillery. There would have been no marked progress in our manufacture of arms, large or small, except by the servile adoption of the inventions of private parties and of foreign armories.

Hence the experiment of the merger of the ordnance department in the artillery after eleven years' trial, proved to be, and was acknowledged to be, by the ablest generals of the army and the most distinguished public men of the country, including Mr.

Calhoun himself, a failure. Accordingly the department was reörganized and placed on an independent footing by an act of Congress of April 5, 1832, which provided that the bureau should consist of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, ten captains, and as many enlisted men not exceeding two hundred and fifty as the public service might require.[1] It was by the act thus reëstablishing the ordnance department that the Secretary of War was authorized to appoint for each military post an ordnance sergeant from among the most experienced non-commissioned officers, to take charge of the ordnance stores at the military posts respectively, under which grew up a considerable corps of such sergeants for many years noted in the army for intelligence and fidelity.

By an act of Congress of 1838, the President was authorized, "whenever he might deem it expedient to increase the same," to add to the ordnance department two majors, and to transfer thereto from the artillery ten first and as many second lieutenants. It was also provided that the pay and emoluments of the officers of the department should be the same as those allowed to officers of the same grade of the regiment of dragoons.[2] In 1842, the offices of superintendents of armories at Springfield and Harper's Ferry were abolished, and ordnance officers directed to perform the duties thereof. Some changes were also made with regard to other and minor employés of the department, the general object of the law being a reduction of their number.[3] In 1847, the President

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IV., 504. [2] *Ibid.*, V., 258, sec. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, *Id.*, 512.

was authorized to add to the department two captains and six first lieutenants.[1]

After noting the rehabilitation of the department by the act of April 5, 1832, General S. V. Bénet, chief of ordnance, gives the following comprehensive history of the department:

"The ordnance having thus resumed its special and distinct organization, disconnected entirely from the duties and instincts of the line, soon rose to a high degree of efficiency and importance. The improvements in all classes of military armament introduced by the department, or made the subject of scientific investigation and experiment at its hands, resulted, in a short space of time, in giving a renewed vigor and tone to the efficiency of the army at large, including all the arms of service. A system of field artillery not before in existence in our service was provided by the department, which, at the battles of Palo Alto and Buena Vista and the siege of Fort Brown, so elevated the reputation of the light batteries engaged that the force was doubled by Congress in 1847. The siege trains, mountain howitzers, and mortars were served in this war by ordnance officers, because of their superior skill in the handling and manœuvring of these pieces. Improvements in the qualities of all kinds of small-arms then making, and in the machinery for their manufacture, were appropriated by the department at the earliest period after their value had been demonstrated; elaborate and searching investigations were instituted in the fabrication and improvement of heavy guns and in the application of bronze for gun constructions; a board of ordnance officers was dispatched to Europe to study the state of the arts connected with their special functions in foreign countries, the result of whose labors was diffused within the department and published by Congress to the nation at large; in fine, the department entered upon and fully occupied the extensive field of usefulness, as respected the combined branches of the military service, which lay open before it, and the high standard of excellence which our great armies of two wars has sustained in the matter of armament may be traced back in no

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IX., 186, sec. 16.

small degree to the activity of its corps of officers in the investigation and scientific treatment of all things coming within the sphere of its employment. The war of the rebellion affords a full vindication of the wisdom of maintaining the department as a separate organization. Keeping pace with the progress of science and the mechanical arts, and being specially trained to methodical and practical applications of the principles of these arts, as they relate to the invention and improvement of military armament and experiments connected therewith, a degree of economy has been preserved and a relative degree of efficiency attained which could not have been reached through the medium of any other instrumentality. How, it may be asked, could any other administrative corps, unaugmented in numbers, discharge the duties of the character here indicated? How, it may be added, could these duties be adequately performed by any branch of the line of the army?"[1]

Early in the war of the rebellion the department was increased to consist of a chief of ordnance, with rank of brigadier-general, two colonels and lieutenant-colonels each, four majors, and of captains, first, and second lieutenants, twelve each. James W. Ripley was appointed brigadier-general and chief of the department in August, 1861.[2] In 1863 the organization was changed by an increase in the number of majors and captains, and the abolition of the grade

[1] Hist. Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Ordnance Dept., 79–81.

[2] This General Ripley was a native of Connecticut, and was born in 1794. He was graduated from West Point in 1814, and long served in the artillery, conspicuously in the Seminole war in 1817–18, under General Jackson. In 1832, on the reörganization of the department, he was made a captain of ordnance; five years later, a major. He served in the Mexican war, and was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for gallant conduct. He was for several years superintendent of the Springfield armory. He was retired in September, 1863, and in March, 1865, was brevetted major-general for long and meritorious services. He died at Hartford, in 1870.

of second lieutenant. On the retirement of General Ripley, Colonel George D. Ramsay was appointed brigadier-general, and chief of the department.[1] About this time, the department was again enlarged by the addition of a number of captains and of second lieutenants. Major Alexander B. Dyer succeeded General Ramsay as chief of ordnance in September, 1864, being, of course, then commissioned a brigadier-general.[2] While General Dyer was chief of ordnance, some alleged transactions of the office were brought into general political discussion. Not long before the American presidential

[1] General Ramsay, a native of Virginia, was graduated from the Military Academy in 1820, after which he served in the artillery. In 1835 he became a captain of ordnance; major in 1861; lieutenant-colonel in 1863; colonel, brigadier-general and chief of ordnance in the same year. This officer served with great credit in the Mexican war, and was brevetted for gallant conduct at the battle of Monterey. He only remained at the head of the ordnance department a year, when he was retired. In 1865, he was brevetted a major-general.

[2] General Dyer was a native of Virginia, and was graduated at the Military Academy in 1837. He served in the third artillery, in garrison at Fort Monroe, and in the Florida war in 1837–38. In July of this latter year, he was appointed second lieutenant of ordnance. During several succeeding years, he was on duty at different arsenals, depots, and military foundries in the West and South. In the Mexican war he was chief of ordnance in the army invading New Mexico, and was twice brevetted for gallant conduct. After that war, he served at arsenals in Missouri, North Carolina, Little Rock, Arkansas, and at Fort Monroe. During the rebellion, until he became chief of ordnance, he was in command of Springfield armory, and greatly extended its machinery for the manufacture of small arms. In March, 1863, he was commissioned major. Two years later, he was brevetted major-general. He remained in charge of the department until his death in 1874.

campaign of 1872, the Franco-German war, resulting in the defeat of the French under the Emperor Napoleon III. and the destruction of his empire, had occurred. It was charged after the war that our government had violated its duties of neutrality in the contest and of friendship for the German Empire, by the sale of arms to the French and agents of the French. At this time—in the early summer of 1872, that is—the Honorable Carl Schurz, a German by birth, was one of the Senators of the United States from Missouri. He brought this matter of the alleged sales of arms to the French before the Senate and the country, by moving a committee of investigation. The motion prevailing, an investigation followed, which was accompanied by a debate in the Senate, continuing through many days, and which was remarkable for the ability and eloquence displayed on all sides, and particularly by the eminent German-American statesman who had introduced the subject. The vast galleries of the Senate chamber were daily crowded with thousands of persons to hear this animated debate, "the first grand campaign attack" on the administration of President Grant. The committee of investigation exonerated the department from blameworthy motives or actions in the premises, and in the former part of this judgment, if not in the latter, the public almost universally agreed. The rectitude of the chief of ordnance was not in the slightest degree impeached.

After the war, there was a re-grading of the officers of the department, and a year later further promotions and appointments were prohibited until a reduction of the corps by casualties should occur.

In 1874, the present organization of the department was established, namely, one brigadier-general (chief of ordnance), three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, ten majors, twenty captains, sixteen first lieutenants, and the ordnance store-keepers (captains) in office, but whose places, in case of vacancy, are not to be filled. Of these, according to the latest Army Register, there are ten. In the same year, Major Stephen V. Benét was appointed chief of ordnance and brigadier-general, in place of General Dyer, deceased.[1]

In 1876, General Benét had prepared under his supervision a pamphlet, which I have frequently cited and quoted under the name "Historical Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Ordnance Department." It is in reality an elaborate, carefully-reflected essay upon the ordnance department as a portion of the United States military establishment, together with the historical statement as named, and a consideration of the legal relations of the department to the Secretary of War and army proper. The ordnance department is thus considered as but a part of the military establishment, it, with the other bureaux, forming the whole of the administrative

[1] General Benét, a native of Florida, was graduated at West Point in 1849. He was for some years on duty at various arsenals — Watervliet, Frankford, Pikesville, Washington City, St. Louis, and elsewhere. He served several years as professor at West Point, and, later, as instructor of ordnance and science of gunnery. He has served on several important experimenting and examining boards. He was commissioned captain in 1861, major in 1866, meantime having been brevetted lieutenant-colonel. He is the translator of Jomini's "Campaign of Waterloo" (1853), and the author of a "Treatise on Military Laws and Courts-Martial" (1862).

department of that establishment, each and all being subject to the direction and control of the Secretary of War, and not at all, except in certain contingencies expressly provided for by law, to the army. This view is so forcibly — so absolutely unanswerably, as it seems to me — put by General Benét near the close of the essay, that I here take the liberty of quoting the argument in full:

"What, it may be asked, is the status of these administrative branches [the bureaux of the War Department] under the laws, as embodied in the Revised Statutes, and under the existing regulations? It may be answered as follows:

"By section 1133 of these statutes, the duties of the officers of the quartermaster's department are to be discharged under the direction of the Secretary of War; and, by section 1139, a system of accountability for quartermaster's stores is to be prescribed and enforced under his direction.

"By section 1141, the duties of the officers of the subsistence department are to be discharged under his direction.

"By section 1152, the supplies for the engineer department are to be regulated and determined under his approval; and, by section 1158, the officers of the engineer department are restricted to the discharge of duties within the line of their immediate profession, except only when otherwise ordered by the President. The professional duties of the engineer department are not prescribed by statute, but they have always been discharged under directions of the Secretary of War, who controls the appropriations of this as well as of all other branches of the War Department.

"By sections 1159 to 1167, the ordnance department is placed, in all its details, under the direction of the Secretary of War. These sections have been mainly taken from the act of February 8, 1815, hereinbefore cited at length.

"By sections 1168 to 1181, the supervision of the Secretary of War over the details of the medical department is in several places declared. The duties of the medical department are not prescribed in general terms by statute, but they have uniformly been discharged under direction of the Secretary of War

"By sections 1184 to 1189, the pay department is placed under the direction of the President. The duties have, however, been always discharged under the direction of the Secretary of War, as the executive officer of the President; and in sections 1190 and 1191, the Secretary of War is specially named in connection with this department.

"By sections 1195 and 1196, the signal office is placed under the direction of the Secretary of War.

"The subordination of the bureau of military justice is not indicated by the statutes, but it must of necessity fall under the direction of the Secretary of War.

"By section 1331, the supervision and charge of the Military Academy is vested in the War Department under such officers as the Secretary of War may assign to that duty.

"The duties of the adjutant-general and inspectors-general are not declared by statute. They each have offices, however, in connection with the office of the Secretary of War.

"Whatever differences of opinion may be entertained upon the policy or expediency of this disposition of the administrative or staff corps, the fact of such disposition remains unchanged. The foundations of the plan were laid in the earlier days of the republic, and the plan has descended to us unimpaired, notwithstanding the various mutations which the command of the army has undergone within the past twenty years. The plan was originally fixed when the regular army required no greater provisions for its commander than those appropriate to a major-general, and has answered all requirements throughout two great wars through which the country has passed. Within the past twenty years the temporary rank of lieutenant-general by brevet, and then lieutenant-general, and, finally, general, have been revived or created, but no change has been made in the disposition or status of the administrative corps on account of these new military offices. The administrative corps have a greater element of permanency than either of the existing temporary offices which are by law to expire upon being vacated by the present incumbents. Any change made in the status of the administrative corps to adapt them to these temporary offices would necessitate immediate abrogation upon the occurrence of a vacancy, and the expediency of unsettling an old and tried system, founded as it is upon underlying principles of public policy, for temporary adjustment to

temporary offices, is a matter for the determination of the law-making power in the first instance.

"The fundamental organization of the military establishment being a matter of exclusive legislative cognizance, and an established system of military administration having been provided by laws designating both persons and powers, it is believed that no authority short of the legislative can modify the established system by curtailing any of the powers of those who have received them by statutory designation. In an opinion of the attorney-general on the 'relations of the President to the executive departments,' delivered in 1855 (7 Opin., 468), it was held, that

'If, in a given case, no head of department be named in the law, the discretion remains to the President to designate or not, as, and to whom he will [confide the execution of the law], but if he approves a law which designates a particular head of department as the immediate agent of administration, then his executive discretion in regard to the choice of an agent has been exerted and fixed by him in the acceptance of the law, and his order in the matter will be given, and the expenditures involved will be passed upon, by the legally designated head of department.'

"And in an opinion delivered in 1828 (1 Opin., p. 625), it is held that

'If the laws, then, require a particular officer by name to perform a duty, not only is that officer bound to perform it, but no other officer can perform it without a violation of the law; and were the President to perform it, he would not only be not taking care that the laws were faithfully executed, but he would be violating them himself. The Constitution assigns to Congress the power of designating the duties of particular officers: the President is only required to take care that they execute them faithfully.'

"Applying the principles here announced to the administration of affairs in the War Department, it is clearly to be conceded that the statutory designation of the Secretary of War to the paramount control of the various administrative branches of that department, and the subordinate officers and materials and affairs connected therewith, is exclusive and that no commanding general or other officer of the army — whatever may be his grade — can successfully claim any administrative participation therein, not expressly granted to him by statute."

These different bureaux of the War Department,

the origin and brief history of each of which I have thus imperfectly related, have conferred incalculable benefits upon our country, no less conspicuously, upon the whole, with regard to civil than to military affairs. Even the adjutant-general's department, whose duties at first view might be supposed to be wholly and exclusively military and technical, is the source whence writers upon all our wars, foreign, Indian, and civil, draw their best and most authoritative history. Its records constitute the best evidence for all persons entitled to the benefits of the pension and bounty laws. The labors of the signal office are recognized as of daily benefit to the country and of growing value to mankind. The departments of the inspector-general, quartermaster-general, commissary-general of subsistence, and paymaster-general, are wholly military and administrative, but as we have seen their labors, whether in peace or war, are great and valuable, and in some instances have preëminently assisted the army to win great victories and to repel threatened dangers from the republic. The medical, engineer, and ordnance departments have many and varied professional and scientific as well as administrative services to perform. We have seen how well in all instances, how grandly in not a few, their duty has been done. That our country is so generally developed to-day, from the shores of Lake Ontario to far beyond the Mississippi, in the Rocky Mountain region, and on the Pacific coast, is more largely due to the labors of the bureaux of the War Department than to any other one cause. I have proceeded thus far in my work most imperfectly, unless it is therefrom very clearly seen that the history of the prog-

ress of civilization in America is closely connected with the history of the Department of War. Again do we see the truth of the paradox: There is no peace for the army except during war.

NOTE.—It will have been observed that in my accounts of the different bureaux I have in some instances included rosters, in others, not. Where the names are quite numerous I have not thought it appropriate to take up so much space as they would require in the general body of the history. They will be found, as contained in the current Army Register, in the Appendix, near the close of the volume.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEPARTMENTAL HISTORY FROM THE MEXICAN WAR TO 1879.

THE SUCCESS OF THE SYSTEM OF VOLUNTEERS — SECRETARY MARCY AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO — THE INTERIM BETWEEN THAT WAR AND THE LATE CIVIL WAR — THE WAR DEPARTMENT DURING THE WAR OF THE REBELLION — SECRETARY STANTON AND THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIES — THE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT — COLORED TROOPS — MILITARY RAILROADS AND TELEGRAPHS — EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS — THE DISBANDMENT OF THE VOLUNTEERS — REÖRGANIZATION OF THE ARMY — THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU — SECRETARY STANTON AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON — GENERAL GRANT — SOLDIERS' HOMES — NATIONAL CEMETERIES — RECENT HISTORY — SECRETARY MCCRARY AND THE SIGNAL OFFICE.

WHATEVER may be the truth as to the divided judgment of the American people upon the rightfulness or wrongfulness of our war with Mexico, there can be no question that, having once commenced, it was conducted with ability, vigor, and most remarkable success. This remark applies not only to the operations of the army in the field, which made forever illustrious the names of Taylor, Scott, and others, but to the administrative services of the Department at the national capital, and of many of its bureau officers engaged on the theatre of war. At this time the Department was in charge of the distinguished statesman, William L. Marcy of New York. Secretary Marcy had served with honor in the last war with Great Britain, and had observed the lamentable defects of the militia system. He had also closely studied our entire military history and had

noted the success of the plan of speedily raising troops, called volunteers, which had on more than one occasion been adopted in the West, particularly in Kentucky and Ohio. This plan, thoroughly systematized, he adopted for the supply of troops in addition to the regular army, with which the war with Mexico should be prosecuted.

His views were heartily sustained by President Polk and cordially adopted by Congress. By an act approved May 13, 1846, the President was authorized "to call for and accept the services of any number of volunteers not exceeding fifty thousand, who may offer their services either as cavalry, artillery, infantry or riflemen."[1] Under this law, volunteers were quickly enlisted in all parts of the Union, intelligence of the fine victories of the army of the United States under General Taylor at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma — fought a few days before the passage of the act — creating a general enthusiasm for the war which had not before then manifested itself. Liberal provisions were made for the transportation of the volunteers to rendezvous; for their organization into regiments and brigades; and by midsummer a large army of volunteers was on the Mexican frontier and *en route* thereto. In all the engagements and operations of the war after Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma they bore conspicuous part, proving, with what had gone before in our military history, the correctness of Secretary Marcy's opinion that the warlike strength of the United States lay in the regular army and the volunteers. More recent

[1] U. S. Stat. at Large, IX., 9.

events have demonstrated that an army of American volunteers such as could be speedily raised to great numbers, coöperating with our regular army of trained veterans under the command of trained officers with a trained staff, would probably be invincible by any force which the most powerful nation of the world could bring against it. In a little over two years from the commencement of actual hostilities Mexico was conquered, terms of peace dictated, and the country evacuated by the American armies.

In considering the services, whether military or administrative, of the military establishment of the United States in connection with the Mexican war, it should not be forgotten that the war occurred, so to say, in a former generation. Less than two years before the battle of Palo Alto, the first electric telegraph in the world had been built after incredible trials and difficulties,—a short line between Washington City and Baltimore. By the time the war with Mexico closed the grand success of Professor Morse's invention was acknowledged by all intelligent persons, but it was not until later that the net-work of wires for the conveyance of instantaneous intelligence was spread over most inhabited portions of the country. Nor had railroad construction up to this time been very considerable. Thus the old means of intelligence and transportation were perforce greatly used, which makes it all the more noteworthy that so complete a victory, with such great and valuable results with respect to the material interests of the nation, should have been so quickly gained. Such a result could not have occurred had our armies not been

most admirably organized upon the whole, and most ably commanded.[1]

For more than twenty years up to 1842, the country had been divided into two divisions, each in the command of a brigadier-general, the major-general, being the commander-in-chief of the army, having his headquarters most of the time at the seat of government. In the year named, nine military departments were created by general orders of the War Department and placed in the command of as many general and field officers. During the Mexican war this arrangement naturally fell into disuse, troops and officers being required for service against the enemy. After the conclusion of the war the arrangement first named was reëstablished, Major-General Scott being in command of the eastern division, headquarters at New York, Major-General Taylor, of the western division, headquarters at or near New Orleans. The nine military departments were continued. At this time General Taylor was the candidate of the Whig party for President of the United States, and in deference to him, as he might soon become General Scott's superior officer, his command was made entirely independent. As a matter of fact, he was inaugurated chief executive of the Union on March 5, 1849.

Meantime, the closing scenes in the war with Mexico had occupied large attention from the War Department. At the termination of the war, the aggregate strength of the army was forty-seven thousand one hundred and fifty officers and men. Of these, one thousand three hundred and thirty-

[1] For a rapid sketch of the principal events of the Mexican war see *ante* pp. 228–40.

eight were officers and twenty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-five were enlisted men of the regular army of the United States; there being of volunteers one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven officers, and twenty-one thousand five hundred and ninety men. It is hardly possible that the regular and volunteer forces of the United States will ever again be so nearly equally divided as they were at this time.[1] Very many regulars as well as the volunteers

[1] For the facts stated in the text I am indebted to the report of Adjutant-General R. Jones to the Secretary of War, of November 30, 1848. The report of the same officer, of one year before, places the number of volunteers in the field at twenty-two thousand and twenty-seven; of regulars, twenty-one thousand five hundred and nine — about the same difference the other way. The volunteers suffered greater losses by sickness. In the same report, Adjutant-General Jones stated that the volunteer force employed in the war consisted of troops equivalent to thirty regiments and six companies of infantry, called from the States and Territories as follows:

Massachusetts, one regiment of infantry; New York, two regiments; New Jersey, one battalion (4 companies); Pennsylvania, two regiments and three companies; Maryland and District of Columbia, seven companies infantry and one artillery, with the organization of a regiment; Virginia, one regiment (13 companies); North Carolina, one regiment; South Carolina, one regiment (11 companies); Georgia, one mounted battalion (6 companies); one separate mounted company and one battalion of infantry (5 companies); Florida, one independent company infantry; Alabama, one independent mounted company; Mississippi, one regiment infantry; Louisiana, one regiment and one battalion (5 companies); Arkansas, one independent mounted company; Texas, five independent mounted companies; Tennessee, three regiments infantry; Kentucky, two regiments; Missouri, one regiment and one battalion mounted (5 companies), one battalion infantry (5 companies), and one mixed battalion of two companies mounted, one company artillery, and two companies infantry; Illinois, four independent mounted companies and two regiments infantry; Indiana, two regiments; Ohio, one independent mounted company and two regiments, and two independent companies infantry; Michigan, one regiment (not yet raised) and one independent company infantry; Wisconsin, one independent company; Iowa, one independent mounted company. Second enrolment and remustered companies (7).

having been mustered to serve "during the war" the army was speedily reduced after the evacuation of Mexico to the regular peace establishment, which at the time was authorized by law to consist of eight hundred and sixty-five officers and eight thousand nine hundred and forty enlisted men. This force only lacked about three hundred of being full according to the adjutant-general's annual report of 1848. Between this time and the war of the rebellion there were some slight changes in the organization of the army, resulting in its increase to an aggregate of about twelve thousand, which was its strength according to law, at the commencement of hostilities.[1]

During the entire period of the administrations of Presidents Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan the country was agitated by the discussion of political questions of such character as to keep up an almost constant excitement. Indeed, this remarkable agitation began during the latter part of the administration of President Polk in connection with the question of the government to be established in the vast territory acquired as a result of the war with Mexico, and it did not end till 1861. Nevertheless, it is a noteworthy fact that though the army did some things during this period which it ought not to have done — among others, the interference with the free State men of Kansas, and the Utah fiasco — the services of the military establishment were at this very time of exceptional benefit to the country and to mankind. It has been customary with a certain class of writers to speak

[1] For convenience of reference, a statement showing the organization of the army at different times has been prepared, and will be found in the Appendix, near the close of the volume.

of Mr. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War during the administration of President Pierce, as even then plotting treason against his country and in his apartments in the Department building secretly concocting plans for the destruction of the government. No opinion could be more erroneous. Whatever faults Mr. Davis has to answer for, this is not one of them. He was not only a most energetic and diligent Secretary, but there were in progress during his administration of the Department, and under his supervision, some of the greatest works it has ever performed. Among them were the Pacific Railroad surveys, of which a full account has been set forth in the preceding chapter. In these surveys, as his own reports connected therewith show, he took an enthusiastic and intelligent interest; and it was then as it is now the universal judgment that railroads across the continent must needs be a perpetual practical argument for the permanence of the Union. During his administration of the war office the Army Regulations were revised, and very much improved; rifles were substituted for muskets in several regiments; the army was increased. It is clear that during this period of his life Mr. Davis had no time to plot against his country. While at the head of the War Department he was guiltless of all offence of this kind. And for some time afterwards the entire military establishment was faithful to the republic.

Unhappily, as much cannot be said for Mr. Floyd, Secretary of War during most of the administration of President Buchanan. From the time it became known that Abraham Lincoln would probably be elected President, Secretary Floyd used the Depart-

ment in the interest of those who had determined to do all in their power to break up the government. Besides, a considerable portion of the army was in Texas under command of General Twiggs, whose wretched and shameless treason in the early part of the secession movement was among the most disreputable events of the whole war. There is nothing so lamentable in the history of the military establishment of the United States as these treasonable deeds in the War Department and in the army. They left the government in almost a defenseless position, besides manifesting a degree of moral and political turpitude which, to the credit of human nature, is not often reached. The appointment of the Honorable Joseph Holt of Kentucky as Secretary of War a short time before the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration was a most fortunate event for the country. He immediately placed all the power of the Department on the side of the Union and did all that could be done to counteract the unworthy deeds of his predecessor. During this noted crisis the exalted patriotism of Joseph Holt was of incalculable value to the republic. Largely by reason of his labors and vigilance Mr. Lincoln was peacefully inaugurated President and the new administration quietly placed in possession of the government.

The statesmanlike, tender, and profoundly patriotic inaugural address of President Lincoln had been enough to cause the secessionists to pause in their ill-considered course, but that it had been long determined upon by certain fiery, ambitious, unscrupulous leaders whose influence in affairs was very great because of the ignorance which so largely prevailed in

many Southern communities. In a little more than a month from President Lincoln's inauguration war was commenced by the attack on Fort Sumter. This most unhappy event aroused the entire North and many communities in several of the slave States to the highest pitch of indignation. The cry of "To Arms!" was heard everywhere from men of all political parties, and though there were some in the North who sympathized with the "Confederates," they had small following, and not a few of them soon were seen floating with the popular tide. The feeling was well-nigh universal that the nation should avenge the insult by promptly and vigorously waging war on the armed enemies of the Union.

The government appeared to be more phlegmatic under the circumstances than was easily to be explained, and certainly gave no evidence of sympathizing with the magnificent enthusiasm of the people. The sublime good-nature of the President and the remarkable serenity of Secretary of State Seward appeared to be very little if any affected. The latter had the most erroneous conception of the character of the insurrection. Secretary of War Cameron and Secretary of the Treasury Chase were the only two members of the cabinet who had anything like correct notions of the impending conflict. The former, therein sustained by Mr. Chase, advised the immediate calling out of a large force for a considerable term of service. Instead, the President issued his proclamation, April 15, 1861, calling out seventy-five thousand men for three months. At the same time he called Congress to convene in extra session on the 4th of July following. On the 4th of May a

call for forty-two thousand volunteers for three years was issued.

Congress met on the national anniversary, and promptly voted generous supplies of the sinews of war; authorized the increase of the regular army, and the calling out of five hundred thousand three years' volunteers at the discretion of the President. At this time there was no trouble in procuring all the men needed. Let the President call for them; they came, and more offered than were called. The War Department was embarrassed by the offer of too many troops. Secretary Cameron reminded the world of the superior military ardor and resources of the republic, saying; "instead of laboring under the difficulty of monarchical governments in the want of men to fill its armies (which in other countries has compelled a resort to forced conscription), one of its main difficulties is to keep down the proportions of the army and to prevent it from swelling beyond the actual force required."[1] In his original estimates of expenditures for the War Department, prepared in the autumn of 1861, Secretary Cameron made his calculations as for seven hundred thousand men in the field. More than that many had no doubt been offered and, perhaps, provisionally accepted. But as Congress had only authorized five hundred thousand, Secretary Chase protested against these estimates and they were accordingly reduced.[2]

Notwithstanding these remarkable embarrassments of too many troops, the war for the Union did not

[1] Quoted by Schuckers, Life of Chase, 220.

[2] See the letter of Secretary Chase in the work just cited, pp. 279–80.

progress, upon the whole, very favorably during the year 1861. There were some brilliant affairs in Virginia — now West Virginia — under Generals McClellan and Rosecrans, and Colonel, afterwards Major-General Lew. Wallace. The successful expedition under Commodore Du Pont of the navy and General Thomas W. Sherman of the army against Port Royal and Beaufort was of much importance and real value. The brilliant victory of General Nathaniel Lyon at the battle of Wilson's Creek demonstrated the valor and fortitude of our volunteers, but little more than compensated for the death, in the supreme moment of triumph, of that great soldier and noble man. General Grant's first engagement, Belmont, was at best a drawn battle. During the entire year, there had been no grand, stirring victory for the Union cause, and it had suffered lamentable, terrible defeat and rout on the field of Bull Run, within cannon sound of the Capital. The spirits of the people were depressed; and nearly all persons began to see that the contest must inevitably be one of great magnitude and of uncertain duration.

A fortnight of the year 1862 had not passed when an event occurred which largely revived the spirits of the people and reänimated their dormant enthusiasm. This was the appointment of Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War. Mr. Stanton had not been much in public, that is to say political life; but he had been for many years one of the most eminent lawyers practising in our highest courts; he had served as Attorney-General during the latter months of President Buchanan's administration, and, heartily coöperating with Holt, had done the state great

service. He was known to be a man "terribly in earnest;" of indomitable will; of immense intellectual force; of resistless energy and ceaseless industry; of the purest integrity and the loftiest patriotism. It was intuitively judged by the people, and the judgment justified by the event, that he would infuse into the army some portion of his unconquerable spirit and organize victory for the Union cause.

The events in the field speedily following the appointment of Secretary Stanton were greatly cheering to the Union people. In the East, General Burnside, coöperating with whom was Flag Officer Goldsborough of the navy, captured Roanoke Island, early in February, many prisoners and large store falling into his hands. Newbern and other important places soon afterwards became his trophies. But on the day before Roanoke Island fell into our possession, there commenced in the West a series of remarkable victories not interrupted by a single great disaster during the entire year. The initial operation in these movements was the capture of Fort Henry, a powerful rebel work on the Tennessee River. This brilliant victory was mainly achieved by the navy under Commodore Foote. In just ten days it was followed, February 16, by the unconditional surrender of Fort Donelson to General Grant. This surrender included an army of nearly twenty thousand men and immense military *materiel* of all kinds. Within a month, Major-General Samuel R. Curtis won the decisive victory of Pea Ridge, after three days of hard fighting and exceptionally fine manœuvering. On the 6th and 7th of April General Grant fairly won the greatest pitched battle of the war in the

West — the battle of Shiloh. In the same month, through the gallantry of the navy under Farragut and of the army under Major-General B. F. Butler, the city of New Orleans and the powerful forts between that city and the gulf of Mexico were repossessed by the Union. Shortly before this, by the capture of Island Number Ten, New Madrid, Fort Pillow, and Memphis, the Mississippi River had come under the control of the Unionists from Cairo to Vicksburgh. In October General Rosecrans won a complete victory in the battle of Corinth, and near the close of the year Major-General Frank Herron gained a handsome triumph on the field of Prairie Grove, in north-western Arkansas.

Thus in the West there was a series of uninterrupted military successes from the beginning till just at the close of the year, when General William T. Sherman met with defeat in the battle of Chickasaw Bayou. The Unionists had regained vast extent of territory in Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, and their entire control of the Mississippi valley seemed to be an event of the near future. In the East matters were less fortunate. Major-General McClellan's peninsular campaign against Richmond resulted in failure after many battles most gallantly fought by his army. This was followed by the disastrous Virginia campaign of Major-General John Pope, which was succeeded by the Confederate invasion of Maryland, closed by the great Union victory of Antietam, of which General McClellan failed to take advantage. The campaigns of the gallant Army of the Potomac for the year closed with the battle of Fredericksburgh,

Virginia, in which Major-General Burnside suffered disastrous defeat. The final result of the year was that in the East the Unionists simply held their own, but in the West and South-west gained many and great advantages.

At the beginning of July of this year and just at the close of the seven days' fighting before Richmond, President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand additional volunteers. Dissatisfaction with General McClellan was at this time so great among the friends of the Union in the country that volunteering did not proceed with the wonted rapidity. Accordingly early in the following month Secretary Stanton ordered a draft for the same number of men. This was an unpopular proceeding but it was an effective one, filling up the ranks of the corps in the field and considerably increasing the aggregate strength of the army.

In aggregate results the campaigns of 1863 were a counterpart of those of 1862, being important victories and the acquisition of great extent of territory from the Confederates in the West, and great, bravely fought battles without special advantage to either side in the East. On the second day of the year the great battle of Stone River closed in a fine triumph for General Rosecrans. Within a few days, executing a plan of General Sherman, Major-General John A. McClernand besieged and captured Arkansas Post with many prisoners and large store. After the march through Louisiana, the grand campaign of Vicksburgh under General Grant commenced, the fighting part with the battle of Port Gibson, May 1. The march hence to Vicksburgh by Jackson was an

almost continuous engagement by heavy skirmish at the front or general battle along the lines. There were general engagements, all victories, at Raymond, Jackson, Edward's Station, Champion Hill, Big Black River Bridge. On the 19th Vicksburgh was invested. Four days afterwards General Grant assaulted the enemy's works all along the lines with great vigor but without success. His loss here was very heavy. The unconditional surrender of the Confederate General Pemberton with the entire garrison and all the military *materiel* of Vicksburgh on the 4th of July was the crowning event in one of the grandest campaigns of history. On the same day, Major-General Ben. M. Prentiss won a complete and brilliant victory over a large force which attacked him at Helena, Arkansas. Four days later, Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks. Thus again the Father of Waters through all his course flowed unvexed to the sea in the complete control and possession of the Union. The other principal military events of the year in the West were the battle of Chickamauga, in September, in which General Rosecrans suffered disastrous defeat at the hands of the Confederate General Bragg; and the battle of Chattanooga (Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge), November 23d, 24th, and 25th, in which General Grant gained a wonderful victory. The relief of Knoxville at once followed, and Tennessee was evacuated by the Confederates. Thus the western campaigns of the year closed with the great bulk of the country west of the Appalachian range re-possessed by the Union, with trade and commerce and

general intercourse rapidly resuming their wonted activity.

At the beginning of the year General Burnside was still in command of the Army of the Potomac, but was soon relieved by Major-General Joseph Hooker. The first great operation of that army after General Hooker assumed command was the series of general engagements, extending through the 2d, 3d, and 4th of May, known as the battle of Chancellorsville. General Hooker suffered defeat and was sadly punished in heavy losses of killed and wounded. Nevertheless, he retreated across the Rappahannock on the 6th without molestation or pursuit by General Lee. The Confederates also lost very heavily in the engagement, their greatest loss being that of the distinguished General Stonewall Jackson who was here mortally wounded. Not long after this the Confederate Army of Virginia under its great captain, General Lee, proceeded to invade Maryland and Pennsylvania. The end of this ambitious expedition was the battle of Gettysburgh, July 1st, 2d, and 3d, in which the Confederates were severely beaten by the Unionists under the command of Major-General George G. Meade who a few days before had relieved General Hooker. Notwithstanding this great victory, Lee was permitted leisurely to retreat, and by the end of the month both armies were again on the Rappahannock. They continued to watch each other vigorously, with heavy skirmishing occasionally, and now and then giving strong indications of impending battle but without coming to blows, till a severe winter set in. Thus, maugre the casualties of the battles and lesser affairs, the year

closed in the East with the situation almost precisely as it was when the year began.

During this year the different armies were largely reënforced by the operation of the draft which occurred in different States and districts from time to time. It was in the summer of this year that the dreadful draft riots occurred in the city of New York. During this reign of terror many innocent lives and great amounts of property were destroyed. The riot was finally quelled by the presence of United States troops. There were other instances of opposition to the draft, and some officers of the provost-marshal's department were killed. But as a rule, the draft proceeded quietly and accomplished its purpose. In September President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand volunteers. Bounties for enlistment were now liberal, and the ranks of the army were well filled up. During the winter of 1863–64 reënlistments in the army were also very numerous. Great numbers of men, sometimes a whole regiment in a body, "veteranized," that is, having served out their time, reënlisted for "three years or during the war." Another draft also was ordered in the spring. Hence the campaign of 1864 was begun by the Unionists with full and experienced armies.

Their success in all the considerable operations of the West and South was interrupted by but two or three disasters and reverses, only one of these being of much importance. This was the Red River expedition in Louisiana under Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks,—a quite disastrous failure largely due to the presence of a crew of speculators who were allowed to accompany the expedition. After the

defeat of Franklin near Mansfield the military prestige of the army was redeemed and its retreat down the river secured by the fine victory of Major-General A. J. Smith at the battle of Pleasant Hill. Major-General E. R. S. Canby succeeded General Banks in the command of the department of the Gulf. His operations during the remainder of the year, and particularly the capture, with the coöperation of Admiral Farragut, of the powerful forts at the entrance to Mobile Bay, were of vast importance in the progress of the general campaign. One of the most remarkable campaigns of military history was the campaign of Atlanta of this year under General Sherman. By gallant fighting and the most skilful logistics, General Sherman drove before him a large army, forcing him to abandon powerful works, to retreat over difficult mountains, across many large streams, and finally to abandon his stronghold near the centre of the empire State of the South. In nearly all of the battles of this campaign, some of which were wonderfully hard-fought fields, General Sherman was successful. After the end of the Atlanta campaign proper, General Hood, who had relieved General Joseph E. Johnston of the command of the army opposed to Sherman, made several desperate raids against the Union lines of communication but was in nearly every instance repulsed with great loss. Later, Hood, having concentrated his forces, conceived the ambitious project of capturing Nashville and invading Kentucky and Ohio. Marching on Nashville, he was met a considerable distance south of there by Major-General Schofield, who harassed his march as much as was practicable, and gave him

a severe handling and a considerable check at the battle of Franklin. Meantime Major-General George H. Thomas, at the capital of Tennessee, was energetically making every preparation to receive the invader at the point of the bayonet and the cannon's mouth. The result was that in the grand battle of Nashville Hood's army was utterly routed; "pulverized," as was said at the time; and for days was a mere series of crowds of unorganized stragglers. In this battle General A. J. Smith bore a conspicuous part. He had before been engaged in helping drive the last rebel invaders out of Missouri, and this having been successfully done, he was able to reënforce General Thomas just in time to take part in the battle. Having made his remarkable "march to the sea," General Sherman made a Christmas present of the city of Savannah, and large military store, to the government, thus closing the operations of the armies of the West, in such way as to leave the principal forces of the Confederacy within that region of country lying between the Allegheny Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean, and the James and Savannah Rivers. There were, of course, many Confederate troops outside of these limits but nowhere enough to be formidable in the open field.

An act of Congress of the 1st of March 1864 revived the grade of lieutenant-general in the army. Major-General Grant was at once appointed and confirmed by the Senate. Soon repairing to the national capital he remained there for some time in daily consultation with President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, and being designated commander-in-chief of the army, repaired to his headquarters in

the field, assuming direct command of the Army of the Potomac. Early in May he crossed the Rapidan, and commenced that series of tremendous contests which, beginning with the battle of the Wilderness and including the great engagements of Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburgh, Weldon Road, Deep Bottom, Ream's Station, Chapin's Farm, and others, did not come to an end for the year 1864 till late in October in the battle of Hatcher's Run, far south of Petersburgh.[1] In the autumn of this year one of General Grant's most energetic lieutenants, Major-General Philip H. Sheridan, being ordered to take command of the troops in the Shenandoah valley, soon left all that section of country well denuded of enemies able to commit mischief, by winning in quick succession three pitched battles. As if to keep up the singular coincidences of the war a considerable Confederate force invaded Maryland about midsummer of this year. They easily defeated General Lew. Wallace at the battle

[1] Some writers have in an unfriendly manner criticised the campaign of General Grant against Richmond, particularly charging him with unnecessarily great losses. The most of these critics have unfavorably compared the campaign in this regard with that of General McClellan. Nothing could be more unjust to both of these distinguished men, for the reason that the situation at the time of the two campaigns was utterly different, the one from the other. As a matter of fact, however, there were more losses in the Army of the Potomac in the attempts to capture Richmond, under McClellan and his successors till Grant, than under Grant. Grant captured the city and closed the war; the others were less fortunate. The total number of killed, wounded, and missing under McClellan and successors was 144,118; under Grant (till surrender of Lee) 104,001. See Life of General Grant by Charles A. Dana and J. H. Wilson, appendix.

of Monocacy. He retreated on Baltimore, they marched on Washington, plundering as they went. Threatening the capital, but not seriously, for a day or two, they retreated in good order carrying all their booty with them. These forays had no perceptible effect upon the plans of grand campaign as they were now well understood by the President, the Secretary of War, and General Grant.

The general result of the campaign, it will have been observed, was more favorable to the Union cause than that of any preceding year. In the West and South we had gained prodigiously, almost repossessing the entire area of those sections, while in the East, after many great battles, victory falling now on one side now on the other, the balance was heavily in favor of the Union. We were near the Confederate capital, and, as was clear to most reflecting persons, that capital was near its fall. In a word, the situation all along the lines, to use a phrase at the time greatly in vogue, was, at the close of the year in review, most cheering to the adherents of the Union cause.

The remaining military operations of the war were grand and exciting in the extreme. Grant's army was in motion early in February, and had in that month some considerable engagements. Sheridan, with his large army of cavalry, seemed to be ubiquitous, now capturing a large Confederate army near Staunton, now destroying the James River canal fifty miles west of Richmond, speedily appearing north and east of that city, destroying railroads and capturing great quantities of property. When Grant was about ready for the supreme movement against

Petersburgh and Richmond, he placed this gallant officer, no less cool and sagacious than dashing, in command of all the cavalry of the army and of the Fifth Army Corps. On March 25th, the Second and Sixth corps assaulted, carried, and held the first line of the enemy's works. Three days afterwards there was heavy fighting, in which the Confederates rather had the best of it. But on the 1st of April the great battle of Five Forks was fought, resulting in a magnificent victory for the Unionists and in very great losses to the Confederates. This was followed on the 2d by a general assault on the works of Petersburgh, their capture, and the capture of great numbers of prisoners. On the night of this day both Petersburgh and Richmond were evacuated by the enemy, and early on the next morning the Confederate government departed from the city on a railroad train.

Grant immediately put his army in pursuit of Lee, who, with what was left of the Army of Virginia, had marched westward. He was overtaken and compelled to fight on the 6th and again on the 7th, in both instances being defeated, of course; for his once splendid and always gallant army was now reduced by the casualties of battle to a mere shadow of its former greatness. Concentrating his entire army at Appomattox Court House on the 8th, with the view of a final struggle, he learned that General Sheridan with a large force was in his rear, and hence that further contest were useless. Accordingly on the next day he gave up his sword to Grant and surrendered to him his whole army, the terms demanded by the Union General being confessedly liberal and magnanimous.

Very early in the year General Sherman began his march through the Carolinas. In South Carolina he met with no considerable opposition, but moved in broad column through the State which had originated the war and the citizens of which he compelled, through regular foraging parties, to aid in the subsistence of his men and animals. During his march through South Carolina his entire losses were hardly greater than would occur in a heavy skirmish. Hampton's cavalry undertook to annoy and harass, but Hampton was quite monotonously driven out of harm's way by the Union cavalry under Major-General Judson Kilpatrick. On February 18th, Charleston fell into the possession of the Unionists, General Sherman having occupied Columbia the day before. The objective point of the march was Goldsboro, North Carolina. In this State, Sherman met with considerable opposition, the Confederates having collected a respectable army to meet him. At Averysboro a heavy battle was fought, and at Bentonville, Sherman was confronted by the entire Confederate army, well intrenched, and under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston. A severe battle ensued, in which the Unionists had the advantage, and during the following night, March 18, General Johnston quietly put his army in retreat. Sherman then marched to Goldsboro, where he was joined by Major-General Schofield, who had rapidly marched by rail from Nashville, Tennessee, to Alexandria, Virginia, thence by transports to North Carolina, where he had been for some time vigorously and successfully engaged in operations intended to aid in the general movement of Sherman. On March 23d,

the junction of the two armies was made at Goldsboro, being the very time fixed upon months before. Meantime, Major-General George Stoneman had marched from East Tennessee with a division of cavalry as far eastward as Greensboro, North Carolina, and had there, and between that place and Salisbury, utterly destroyed all railway bridges and culverts, and torn up the tracks for miles together,—a severe blow to the armies of both Lee and Johnston. On April 10th, Sherman began his march, his object being to make a junction with General Grant. But hearing of Lee's surrender he pushed on directly in pursuit of Johnston. The weather was terrible, pitiless storms of rain prevailing daily; the roads were almost impassable; but through the mire and storm the grand army moved on as steadily and cheerfully as if in review, enthusiastic to overtake the enemy and to close the war. But on the 14th, General Sherman received a communication from General Johnston, requesting an armistice and a statement of the best terms under which he could surrender the army under his command. The result was the famous "agreement" which was disapproved by the President, the Secretary of War, and General Grant. The latter hastened to North Carolina to explain the matter personally to General Sherman, whereupon he received the surrender of Johnston upon the same terms which had been accorded Lee at Appomattox, namely, that all the Confederate arms, artillery, and property be turned over to an officer of the Union, the army disbanded, officers and men to give their parole not to take up arms against the United States until exchanged.

In the meantime, great operations had also been taking place in the South. At the very time General Grant was pressing Lee so relentlessly at Petersburgh and Richmond and to the final surrender, General Canby was moving on the strong works of Mobile. He carried Spanish Fort and Fort Blakeley on the very day of General Lee's surrender, and on the next, Mobile was evacuated by the Confederates. The garrison was soon captured by General Canby's forces. During the same period of activity Major-General James H. Wilson made his famous "cavalry raid" through Alabama and Georgia. With a large force of cavalry and light artillery, he marched through northern and central Alabama, making a great military expedition rather than a raid. For he captured many towns and cities where were vast quantities of Confederate military *materiel* which he destroyed, together with several extensive establishments for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. He fought several battles, always with dash and with success. When his expedition had about come to an end as originally planned, the grand Union successes all over the theatre of war from the James River to the gulf of Mexico had brought the war to a close. What there was of it after this was only like the little pattering of rain that sometimes follows a thunder-storm.

The vast operations of the war thus rapidly sketched threw upon the War Department an additional amount of labors almost incredible. To supervise the administrative affairs pertaining to the Department during this long period of the republic's peril would have been beyond the capacity allotted to man. Early in

the war Secretary Cameron, seeing the absolute necessity of direct aid in the discharge of his duties, by order made Colonel Thomas A. Scott "assistant secretary of war," and he remained in the position during Mr. Cameron's further charge of the war office. Later, the office was created by law and eventually three assistant secretaries of war were authorized. These were P. H. Watson, John Tucker, and C. P. Wolcott. Upon the decease of Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Charles A. Dana was appointed. Mr. Watson, who had long been the law partner of Mr. Stanton was his principal lieutenant, and was consulted by him on all occasions of doubt and difficulty. Mr. Tucker had general charge of the matter of large contracts, and a special supervision of the chartering of steamers and steamboats. Mr. Wolcott had the supervision of the correspondence of great extent and variety growing out of the extraordinary circumstances of the war; as, for example, with the governors of States and other persons of importance or having business of unusual importance with the Department. Thus Secretary Stanton had about him and in his immediate direction a personal staff whose services during the war were invaluable.[1]

[1] John R. Briggs, Jr., at the time an honored official of the House of Representatives (now deceased) related to me this anecdote: Upon Mr. Stanton's appointment as Secretary, he went at once to see his partner, Mr. Watson about it, and expressed himself as decidedly averse to acceptance. "I cannot afford," he said, "to give up a practice worth three or four times as much." But Mr. Watson combatted this decision with great force and earnestness. "It is a time," he said, "when every one must make sacrifices and great sacrifices. You are the man of all men for this place and must make the temporary sacrifice." With

Here it may be well to note the distinction between the merely augmented labors of the War Department brought about by the war and what may be called the extraordinary labors. The former were in the main performed by the regular staff departments, some of which were augmented in official and clerical force for the purpose, others only in the latter respect. As we have seen, the quartermaster's department performed its immensely increased labors with an efficiency and promptness that were wonderful. The other bureaux were no less vigorous and successful. But the very magnitude of the contest made it necessary that extraordinary powers should be conferred upon the President, or at any rate that they should be exercised. Congress even went so far, in view of the imagined financial exigencies of the time, as to authorize the government to issue bits of engraved paper as actual money and a legal tender for all private and most public debts. In the actual conduct of the gigantic war, exigencies frequently arose for the exercise of extraordinary pow-

more to the same general effect he persuaded Mr. Stanton to accept, and he was at once sworn into office. It was not long till the Secretary was granted a personal staff as related in the text. At the time, Mr. Watson was *en route* to Pittsburgh on business. But Secretary Stanton telegraphed him to return immediately. On calling at the Department Mr. Watson was handed his appointment as assistant secretary. In his astonishment he exclaimed, "Why, my dear sir, I cannot afford to accept this place." But the Secretary instantly turned the tables on him, and he accepted. He proved to be an able officer.

Mr. Dana, the last appointee as assistant secretary was the distinguished *littérateur* and journalist, now (1879) editor of the New York Sun newspaper.

Col. Scott is the now famous "railroad king."

ers; but because extraordinary neither unconstitutional nor unlawful. The safety of the state is the supreme law. During war the municipal code lies dormant. As the exercise of these extraordinary powers related mainly to the conduct of the war, it became the duty of the war office to put them into practical exercise. It was this which brought down upon Mr. Stanton's devoted head so much undeserved obloquy as a tyrant, despot, and autocrat. Moreover, the business with the executives and agents of States was of an extraordinary as well as an extensive character. It was in labors pertaining to these extraordinary duties of the war that the assistant secretaries were for the most part employed.

The war brought on countless numbers of inventions of military *materiel* of every description, many of which turned out to be of great use and value, the most being utterly worthless. I suppose the number of "invention cases" brought before Secretary Stanton, and decided by him and his assistant secretaries ran into the thousands, counting as well those which came up on regular appeal from the heads of bureaux as those which were brought directly before him by "political influence." As a rule these were decided off-hand and in the negative. It is and always has been almost certain failure for one to get through the War Department, one having entered at the wrong door. The war had not long progressed when great numbers of courts-martial were held. The number of officers who appealed to the Secretary and to the President from sentences of the courts was very great and not at all confined to cases of severe sentence. The decided manner in which Sec-

retary Stanton disposed of all these cases made him many enemies, who to this day think he was the despot and tyrant as painted by the enemies of his country. Many other classes in similar manner harassed the Department,—contractors and men who wanted to be contractors; those who, having obtained contracts, had undertaken to pass upon the government material which would not bear inspection or had been in other respects in default; the innumerable throng of speculators who sought to make speedy fortunes on the necessities of the country; the tribe of rapacious land-sharks who abound and prosper in times of general distress or calamity,—all these and more would have given the Secretary and his assistants as much as they could have attended to but for the extraordinary capacity of Mr. Stanton to rid himself and the Department of men who had no claims upon it.

Among the most noteworthy of the extraordinary labors of the War Department during the rebellion —or rather the last half of it—were those connected with the office of the Provost-Marshal-General. This office was created by act of Congress of March 3d, 1863, and a few days thereafter, Colonel James B. Fry of the regular army was appointed to the office with the rank of colonel. About a year later he was promoted to the full rank of brigadier-general. Within a very short time after the appointment of Colonel Fry the subdivisions of his office were established in all parts of the country faithful to the Union,—the office of an assistant provost-marshal-general in every State and of a provost-marshal in every congressional district. To this new bureau, with its ramifications

extending everywhere among the people was given the duty of recruitment both as to the volunteers and the regular army. In his elaborate report of March 17, 1866, General Fry says: "The provost-marshals of the several congressional districts, aided by a commissioner and surgeon in each, were made recruiting officers. Springing directly from the people and at the same time exercising the authority and representing the necessities and wishes of the government, they reached the masses, and were able, without abating the requirements of the conscription, to promote volunteering and to examine, enlist, muster, clothe, and forward recruits as fast as they could be obtained. * * This system met the wants of the service; recruits were rapidly obtained by voluntary enlistment or draft, and such strict regard was paid to their physical fitness before accepting them as to greatly reduce the enormous loss on account of discharges for physical disability which had prevailed during the first two years of the war." In the same report — which shows the operations of the bureau from its organization to the close of the war — General Fry gives the following condensed summary of the results of its labors during that period:

"1. By means of a full and exact enrolment of all persons liable to conscription under the law of March 3, 1863 [as a rule all able-bodied male citizens and persons of foreign birth who had declared their intention to become such between the ages of twenty and forty-five years] and its amendments, a complete exhibit of the military resources of the loyal States in men was made, showing an aggregate number of two million two hundred and fifty-four thousand and sixty-three (2,254,063) men, *not* including one million five hundred and sixteen (1,000,516) soldiers actually under arms when hostilities ceased.

"2. One million one hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and twenty-one (1,120,621) were raised at an average cost, on account of recruitment exclusive of bounties, of $9.84 per man; while the cost of recruiting the one million three hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred and ninety-three (1,356,593) raised prior to the organization of the bureau was $34.01 per man. A saving of over seventy cents on the dollar in the cost of raising troops was thus effected under this bureau, notwithstanding the increase in the price of subsistence, transportation, rents, etc., during the last two years of the war.

"3. Seventy-six thousand five hundred and twenty-six deserters were arrested and returned to the army. The vigilance and energy of the officers of the bureau in this branch of business put an effectual check to the wide-spread evil of desertion which at one time so seriously impaired the numerical strength and efficiency of the army.

"4. The quotas of men furnished by various parts of the country were equalized and a proportionate share of military service secured from each, thus removing the very serious inequality of recruitment which had arisen during the first two years of the war, and which, when the bureau was organized, had become an almost insuperable obstacle to further progress in raising troops.

"5. Records were completed showing minutely the physical condition of one million and fourteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-six (1,014,776) of the men examined, and tables of great scientific and professional value have been compiled from these data.

"6. The casualties in the entire military force of the nation during the war of the rebellion, as shown by the official muster rolls and monthly returns, have been compiled, showing among other items five thousand two hundred and twenty-one (5,221) commissioned officers, and ninety thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight (90,868) enlisted men killed in action or died of wounds while in service; two thousand three hundred and twenty-one (2,321) commissioned officers and one hundred and eighty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-nine (182,329) enlisted men who died from disease or accident; making an aggregate of two hundred and eighty thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine (280,739) officers and men of the army who lost their lives in service.

"7. The system of recruitment established by the bureau under

the laws of Congress, if permanently adopted, with such improvements as experience may suggest, will be capable of maintaining the numerical strength and improving the character of the army in time of peace, or of promptly and economically rendering available the national forces to any required extent in time of war.

"8. Through the instrumentality of the bureau there was disseminated throughout the loyal States a knowledge of the routine of the business in the various bureaux of the War Department which was essential to intelligent and effective coöperation in the recruitment, through popular effort, of the armies of the republic. The extension of the bureau over the country brought together the government and the people by closer ties, nurtured that mutual confidence and reliance through which the civil war was conducted to a successful termination, and developed a consciousness of national strength which will promote future peace and prosperity.

"9. The results, under the act for enrolment and draft, were attained without cost to the government; the bureau never asked or required an appropriation of money for these purposes. Twenty-six million three hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred and sixteen dollars and seventy-eight cents ($26,366,316.78) were raised by its own operations in conformity to law. Out of this sum all the expenses of enrolment and draft and additional ones called for by special laws were met. A balance of no less than nine million three hundred and ninety thousand one hundred and five dollars and sixty-four cents ($9,390,105.64) remains (January 1, 1866) to the credit of the bureau in the treasury of the United States."

The foundations for this great success of the bureau, General Fry goes on to state were, under the orders and supervision of the Secretary of War, as follows:

"1. The hearty coöperation of the civil officers of the different States, sustained by the devoted loyalty and earnestness of the masses of the people.

"2. The judicious legislation of Congress.

"3. The just, faithful, intelligent, industrious, and unflinching performance of duty on the part of the subordinate officers of the bureau."

By an act of Congress of July 17, 1862, the President was authorized to receive into the service of the United States persons of African descent "for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, of performing camp duty, or any other labor, or any military or naval service" for which they might be found competent. In September of this year President Lincoln issued his proclamation announcing that at the beginning of the following year he would declare all slaves free in all parts of the country in insurrection. On January 1, 1863, he accordingly issued his immortal Proclamation of Emancipation for which he devoutly asked, and which it received, "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." But not until the act of Congress of February 24, 1864, was the general employment of colored troops authorized. This law, being in amendment of the general enrolment act which established the provost-marshal-general's office was of course in its practical execution in the case of drafts in charge of that bureau, but the recruitment as volunteers was mainly in charge of the "Bureau for Colored Troops." The general rule was the same as to blacks as to whites, all able-bodied male colored citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five years being made liable to military duty, except in certain specified cases. "The Bureau for Colored Troops" at once put manifold appliances of recruitment to vigorous work, and it was not long till there was a large force of colored soldiers ready for the

field.[1] They were recruited most extensively in the States of Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, Mississippi, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, Virginia, and North Carolina. But nearly two thousand were credited to Rhode Island, nearly four thousand to Massachusetts, more than four thousand to New York, and more than eight thousand to Pennsylvania. In very many of these cases the colored men were not citizens of these States but served as substitutes for citizens thereof. Still, volunteering of colored men in the North was quite liberal, considering the paucity of their numbers. The largest number of colored troops in service at any one time during the war was one hundred and twenty-three thousand one hundred and fifty-six. The entire number of troops commissioned and enlisted in this branch of the service from the time they were authorized to be enlisted until the close of the war was one hundred and eighty-six thousand and seventeen.[2]

Another "war bureau" whose labors were of great importance and magnitude during the rebellion was what for convenience sake may be called the bureau

[1] It is to be observed that the act (already cited) of July 17, 1862, authorizing the enlistment of colored men for work upon intrenchments, etc., had received a liberal construction. A considerable force of colored troops had been enlisted under it, serving under the command of white officers detailed for the purpose. Colored troops had fought with heroism in South Carolina and at Milliken's Bend. Brigadier-General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, spent several months of 1863 in supervising the organization of these troops in the South-west. In this labor he was enthusiastically aided by General Hugh T. Reid, of the volunteers, a man of genius and of noble impulses, since deceased.

[2] Report of Provost-Marshal-General Fry, 1866, p. 69.

of military railroads. This branch of the service was peculiarly the creation in the beginning and peculiarly under the direction of the War Department throughout the war. It may almost be said that Secretary Stanton conducted it in person. Certainly he would not allow under any circumstances the least interference with the management of the roads by officers, high or low, not connected therewith. This branch of the service was established by the following order:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"*Washington City, D.C., February* 11, 1862.

"*Ordered* That D. C. McCallum be, and he is hereby, appointed military director and superintendent of railroads in the United States, with authority to enter upon, take possession of, hold and use all railroads, engines, cars, locomotives, equipments, appendages, and appurtenances, that may be required for the transport of troops, arms, ammunition, and military supplies of the United States, and to do and perform all acts and things that may be necessary and proper to be done for the safe and speedy transport aforesaid.

"By order of the President, commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States.

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"*Secretary of War.*"

The following is the conclusion of special orders number 337, issued from the War Department November 10, of the same year:

"Commanding officers of troops along the United States military railroads will give all facilities to the officers of the roads, and the quartermasters, for unloading cars so as to prevent any delay. On arrival at depots, whether in the day or night, the cars will be instantly unloaded, and working parties will always be in readiness for that duty, and sufficient to unload the whole train at once.

"Commanding officers will be charged with guarding the track,

sidings, wood, water-tanks, etc., within their several commands, and will be held responsible for the result.

"Any military officer who shall neglect his duty in this respect will be reported by the quartermasters and officers of the railroad, and his name will be stricken from the rolls of the army.

"Depots will be established at suitable points, under the direction of the commanding general, and properly guarded.

"No officer, whatever may be his rank, will interfere with the running of the cars as directed by the superintendent of the road.

"Any one who so interferes will be dismissed from the service for disobedience of orders.

"By order of the Secretary of War.

"E. D. TOWNSEND,
"*Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

These orders, which might to some appear to be unnecessarily rigid, were simply just. The nature of the service upon the military railroads was peculiarly hazardous, and their successful management demanded great technical skill as well as administrative capacity. Several attempts made by army and department commanders to operate railroads had been made and in all instances had resulted in signal failure. Upon the success of the railroads in forwarding supplies and transporting troops largely depended the success of our armies in the field. "I hazard nothing," says Colonel McCallum, in his general report of May 26, 1866, on the military railroads operated during the war, "in saying, that should failure have taken place either in keeping the lines in repair, or in operating them, General Sherman's campaign, instead of proving, as it did, a great success, would have resulted in disaster and defeat; and the greater the army to supply, the more precarious its position. Since the end of the rebellion, I have been informed by railroad officers who were in the service of the

enemy during the war, 'that they were less surprised at the success of General Sherman, in a military point of view, than they were at the rapidity with which railroad breaks were repaired, and the regularity with which trains were moved to the front;' and it was only when the method of operating was fully explained that it could be comprehended."[1]

It was just and wise, therefore, to prevent all interference with the men of skill and experience who had these roads in charge.

The first railroad operated by the government was that between Washington and Alexandria, Virginia, a distance of only seven miles. From the time of his appointment as military director and manager of railroads until the beginning of 1864, Colonel McCallum was engaged in the construction and operation of roads for the Army of the Potomac in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, in the last two States but for brief periods on occasion of their invasion by the Confederates. At one time or another during the course of the war, nearly all of the principal railroads of Virginia were operated, at least over part of their course by Colonel McCallum and the officers and men serving under him. Many miles of road were constructed and reconstructed, many bridges built and again rebuilt; for two or three times the principal roads built and operated in aid of the Army of the Potomac were destroyed by the enemy for great distances. In aid of General McClellan in the Peninsular campaign; of General Pope in the second Bull Run campaign; of General McClellan in the campaign of Antietam; of Generals

[1] Page 35.

Burnside and Hooker in the operations of the autumn, winter, and spring of 1862–63; of General Meade in the campaign of Gettysburgh; the assistance of the government railroads was of the greatest value.

The military railroad corps in the East being now thoroughly organized, drilled, and equipped, Colonel McCallum was ordered to the West near the close of the year 1863, and accordingly made headquarters for the time being at Nashville. Colonel McCallum found matters pertaining to the railroads in a lamentable situation. He was soon empowered with full authority over all railways in possession of the government or that might from time to time be taken possession of by the military authorities in the departments of the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Tennessee, and of Arkansas, and immediately proceeded to organize a corps of experienced men and to inaugurate practical reforms and practical hard work in the important interest of which he had charge. The following communication from Secretary Stanton to "the manufacturers of locomotives in the United States" will indicate the vigorous measures that were in progress in the military railroad department in that part of the country where General Sherman was making ready for his grand campaign of the year:

"WAR DEPARTMENT,
"*Washington City, March* 23, 1864.

"GENTLEMEN: Colonel Daniel McCallum, general manager of government railways in the Department of the Cumberland, of the Ohio, and of the Tennessee, has been authorized by this Department to procure locomotives without delay for the railways under his charge.

"In order to meet the wants of the military departments of the government you will deliver to his order such engines as he may

direct, whether building under orders for other parties, or otherwise, the government being accountable to you for the same. The urgent necessity of the government for the immediate supply of our armies operating in Tennessee renders the engines indispensable for the equipment of the lines of communication, and it is hoped that this necessity will be recognized by you as a military necessity, paramount to all other considerations.

"By order of the President.

"EDWIN M. STANTON,
"*Secretary of War.*"

Colonel McCallum states that the requisitions of this order were met by all in a spirit of zealous patriotism, and that many locomotives and large numbers of cars were delivered at Nashville in an unprecedentedly short time. Hence he was able not only to keep General Sherman's army of about one hundred thousand men, with sixty thousand animals, constantly furnished with supplies, but also to rebuild the road leading to Atlanta about as rapidly as the army moved, and to repair several other roads in northern Alabama and Tennessee, of the greatest importance to military operations in that part of the country and to the citizens thereof.

The total number of miles of military road operated was two thousand one hundred and five not including those roads which were used temporarily by the army in case of emergency, as in Maryland in 1862 and in Pennsylvania in 1863. The number of engines was four hundred and nineteen, and of cars six thousand three hundred and thirty. The greatest number of men employed at the same time during the war was twenty-four thousand nine hundred and sixty-four. "The difference between civil and military railroad service," says Colonel McCallum, "is marked and

decided. Not only were the men continually exposed to great danger from the regular forces of the enemy, guerillas, scouting-parties, etc., but, owing to the circumstances under which military railroads must be constructed and operated, what are considered the ordinary risks upon civil railroads are vastly increased on military lines. The hardships, exposure, and perils to which train-men especially were subjected during the movements incident to an active campaign, were much greater than that endured by any other class of civil employés of the government — equalled only by that of the soldier, while engaged in a raid into the enemy's country. It was by no means unusual for men to be out with their trains from five to ten days, without sleep, except what could be snatched upon their engines and cars while the same were standing to be loaded or unloaded, with but scanty food or perhaps no food at all for days together while continually occupied in a manner to keep every faculty strained to its utmost. Many incidents during the war, but more especially during the Atlanta campaign, exhibited a fortitude, endurance, and self-devotion on the part of these men not exceeded in any branch of the service."[1]

[1] Col. McCallum's Report on the Mil. R. R's. of the U. S., 35, printed in Appendix pt. 2, to vol. IV., Ex. Doc. H. R. XXXIX Cong. 1st sess., 1865–66. I am indebted to this interesting report for the main facts in the above narrative, and to Col. L. P. Wright, of Chicago, sojourning at the Capital — who was for a considerable period superintendent of long routes in Tennessee — for other interesting statements. The rapidity with which railroads were repaired when destroyed by the enemy was remarkable. Thus, in the autumn of 1864 Hood utterly destroyed 25 miles of road from Resaca northward. He had destroyed 10

During the months of August and September 1865 all the military railroads in the United States were delivered up to their owners respectively or to the States in which they were located. There had been expended in their construction, operation, rolling-stock, etc., the sum of $42,462,142.55. The sale of the property on hand, and the moneys which had been received from private parties for transportation amounted to $12,623,965.83, making their net cost to the government $29,838,176.72.

An act of Congress of the 31st of January 1862 authorized the President when in his judgment the public safety might require it "to take possession of any or all the telegraph lines in the United States, their offices and appurtenances." As this law would only be put in execution for war purposes, it placed the entire telegraphic system of the country at the command of the Secretary of War. But from the beginning of the war telegraph lines had been constructed by the army as it advanced against the enemy or into portions of the country where there were no telegraphs. For the construction of these military telegraphic lines, their repair and operation, large sums of money were annually voted by Congress. The War Department thus came to be directly connected by one or more wires with every considerable army in the field. The largest apartment in the Department building — the apartment used for the Library after the war and till the destruction of the old building — was used as the telegraph office. It was well crowded with instru-

miles farther south. On the eighth day trains were running as usual. Col. Wright relates many interesting incidents of the kind.

ments, and there was no time, day, night, or Sunday, in which some of the operators were not required to be present, the night corps, however, not being so large as that for the labors of the day.

In this apartment President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton spent no little time almost daily and nightly during the years of their intimate personal and official relations, dictating dispatches to different commanders at the theatre of war or receiving news directly from them. Thus, by the aid of the beneficent invention of Morse, the President and Secretary were constantly about as well informed with respect to the situation of all the Union forces in the field as if they had been individually present among them. Thus it was that reënforcements and supplies could always be furnished wherever needed with a promptitude never before known in military operations. After Lieutenant-General Grant assumed direct command of the Army of the Potomac and general command of all the armies of the United States, he daily received all the intelligence received at the War Department, and thus he, too, all the time had a perfect knowledge of the whole situation. Constant and full communications were also sent to General Sherman except when he was beyond the reach of the telegraph. And to these two illustrious statesmen and these two illustrious captains the country is very largely indebted that the Union was not destroyed.[1]

The matter of the exchange of prisoners was at

[1] The number of miles of military telegraph constructed during the war was 15,389, with a total expenditure for constructing and operating of $3,219,400.

different times the source of great trouble and annoyance to the Secretary of War, not only, but to President Lincoln, whose wonderfully kind-hearted nature was constantly pained by a knowledge of the sufferings of our captive soldiers in the prisons of Richmond, Andersonville, Salisbury, and elsewhere. By general orders of the War Department, of September 25, 1862, the general cartel for the exchange of prisoners which had been agreed upon was published, as follows:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"*Washington, September* 25, 1862.

"The following is the cartel under which prisoners are exchanged in the existing war with the Southern States:

"HAXALL'S LANDING ON JAMES RIVER, VA., July 22, 1862.

"The undersigned, having been commissioned by the authorities they respectively represent to make arrangements for a general exchange of prisoners of war, have agreed to the following articles:

"ARTICLE 1. It is hereby agreed and stipulated that all prisoners of war held by either party, including those taken on private armed vessels known as privateers, shall be discharged upon the conditions and terms following:

"Prisoners to be exchanged man for man and officer for officer; privateers to be placed upon the footing of officers and men of the navy.

"Men and officers of lower grades may be exchanged for officers of a higher grade, and men and officers of different services may be exchanged according to the following scale of equivalents:

"A general commanding in chief or an admiral shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or for sixty privates or common seamen.

"A flag officer or major-general shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or for forty privates or common seamen.

"A commodore carrying a broad pennant or a brigadier-general shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or twenty privates or common seamen.

"A captain in the navy or a colonel shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or for fifteen privates or common seamen.

"A lieutenant-colonel or a commander in the navy shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or for ten privates or common seamen.

"A lieutenant-commander or a major shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or for eight privates or common seamen.

"A lieutenant or a master in the navy or a captain in the army or marines shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or six privates or common seamen.

"Master's mates in the navy or lieutenants and ensigns in the army shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or four privates or common seamen.

"Midshipmen, warrant officers in the navy, masters of merchant vessels, commanders of privateers, shall be exchanged for officers of equal rank or three privates or common seamen.

"Second captains, lieutenants, or mates, of merchant vessels or privateers, and all petty officers in the navy and all non-commissioned officers in the army or marines, shall be severally exchanged for persons of equal rank or for two privates or common seamen; and private soldiers or common seamen shall be exchanged for each other man for man.

"ARTICLE 2. Local, State, civil, and militia rank held by persons not in actual military service will not be recognized, the basis of exchange being the grade actually held in the naval and military service of the respective parties.

"ARTICLE 3. If citizens held by either party on charges of disloyalty or any alleged civil offence are exchanged, it shall only be for citizens. Captured sutlers, teamsters, and all civilians in the actual service of either party, to be exchanged for persons in similar position.

"ARTICLE 4. All prisoners of war to be discharged on parole in ten days after their capture and the prisoners now held and those hereafter taken to be transported to the points mutually agreed upon, at the expense of the capturing party. The surplus prisoners not exchanged shall not be permitted to take up arms again, nor to serve as military police or constabulary force in any fort, garrison or field-work held by either of the respective parties, nor as guards of prisons, depots, or stores, nor to discharge any duty usually performed by soldiers, until exchanged under the pro-

visions of this cartel. The exchange is not to be considered complete until the officer or soldier exchanged for has been actually restored to the lines to which he belongs.

"ARTICLE 5. Each party, upon the discharge of prisoners of the other party, is authorized to discharge an equal number of their own officers and men from parole, furnishing at the same time to the other party a list of their prisoners discharged and of their own officers and men relieved from parole; thus enabling each party to relieve from parole such of their own officers and men as the party may choose. The lists thus mutually furnished will keep both parties advised of the true condition of the exchange of prisoners.

"ARTICLE 6. The stipulations and provisions above mentioned to be of binding obligation during the continuance of the war, it matters not which party may have the surplus of prisoners, the great principles involved being, 1st. An equitable exchange of prisoners, man for man, officer for officer, or officers of higher grade exchanged for officers of lower grade, or for privates according to the scale of equivalents; 2d. That privateers and officers and men of different services may be exchanged according to the same scale of equivalents; 3d. That all prisoners, of whatever arm of service, are to be exchanged or paroled in ten days from the time of their capture, if it be practicable to transfer them to their own lines in that time; if not, as soon thereafter as practicable; 4th. That no officer, soldier, or employé in the service of either party is to be considered as exchanged and absolved from his parole until his equivalent has actually reached the lines of his friends; 5th. That the parole forbids the performance of field, garrison, police, or guard, or constabulary duty.

"JOHN A. DIX, *Major-General.*

"D. H. HILL, *Major-General, C. S. A.*

SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLES.

"ARTICLE 7. All prisoners of war now held on either side, and all prisoners hereafter taken, shall be sent with all reasonable despatch to A. M. Aikens's, below Dutch Gap, on the James River, Virginia, or to Vicksburgh, on the Mississippi River, in the State of Mississippi, and there exchanged or paroled until such exchange can be effected, notice being previously given by each party of the number of prisoners it will send, and the time when

they will be delivered at those points respectively; and in case the vicissitudes of war shall change the military relations of the places designated in this article to the contending parties so as to render the same inconvenient for the delivery and exchange of prisoners, other places, bearing as nearly as may be the present local relations of said places to the lines of said parties, shall be by mutual agreement substituted. But nothing in this article contained shall prevent the commanders of two opposing armies from exchanging prisoners or releasing them on parole at other points mutually agreed on by said commanders.

"ARTICLE 8. For the purpose of carrying into effect the foregoing articles of agreement, each party will appoint two agents, to be called agents for the exchange of prisoners of war, whose duty it shall be to communicate with each other, by correspondence or otherwise, to prepare the lists of prisoners, to attend to the delivery of the prisoners at the places agreed on, and to carry out promptly, effectually, and in good faith all the details and provisions of the said articles of agreement.

"ARTICLE 9. And in case any misunderstanding shall arise in regard to any clause or stipulation in the foregoing articles, it is mutually agreed that such misunderstanding shall not interrupt the release of prisoners on parole, as herein provided, but shall be made the subject of friendly explanations, in order that the object of this agreement may neither be defeated nor postponed.

"JOHN A. DIX, *Major-General.*

"D. H. HILL, *Major-General, C. S. A.*

"By order of the Secretary of War:

"L. THOMAS, *Adjutant-General.*"

Upon the just and equitable principle of this cartel of the exchange of man for man and officer for officer, exchanges proceeded as rapidly as was practicable notwithstanding the advantage was with the Confederates. This grew out of the fact that the prisoners of war in the hands of the Unionists, having been well fed and comfortably clothed and quartered were able to enter service immediately after their exchange; whereas very many of the

prisoners held by the Confederates, having been ill fed, ill quartered, and ill clothed, were in a situation entirely unfit for service. There are few more heart-rending scenes in all history than were those of the return of different bodies, in very considerable numbers, of our Union soldiers who had been confined in Confederate prisons. This practical inequality, notwithstanding the theoretical justice of the cartel, at one time caused General Grant to order all exchanges peremptorily stopped, as being neither less nor more than a reënforcement of the enemy.

In 1863, a very serious difficulty arose as to non-combatants held by us as prisoners on account of the war, the Confederates demanding that they all be unconditionally delivered up, and that the Unionists enter into an agreement to make no more such arrests![1] Major-General E. A. Hitchcock, Union commissioner of exchange, remarked that the effect of this would be to relieve all citizens engaged in treason and rebellion from all proceedings, as if no treason had been or could be committed, and refused the demand. The trouble was finally settled by the Confederates quietly yielding their demand.

There came near being a more serious difficulty on the subject of the exchange of colored troops, the Confederates undertaking to discriminate against them. General Grant settled this matter in a very soldier-like way, saying: "No distinction whatever will be made in the exchange between white and colored prisoners; the only question being were they,

[1] See note of R. Ould, Confederate agent of exchange of prisoners, of May 22, 1863, to Col. Ludlow, Union agent. Rep. Sec'y of War, 1865, p. 1089.

at the time of their capture, in the military service of the United States. If they were, the same terms as to treatment while prisoners, and conditions of release and exchange must be exacted and had in the case of colored soldiers as in the case of white soldiers."[1] After this there was no serious debate on the subject of exchange.

These particular notices of the labors of the Department through the office of the provost-marshal-general, with respect to colored troops, military railroads, military telegraphs, and the exchange of prisoners of war, have been made because these services were in a peculiar manner under the direct supervision of the Secretary of War. As for the military railroads, Secretary Stanton brooked no interference with them whatever except his own. If one will considerately reflect upon the great amount of labor and the great results included in these branches of the service, so especially under the supervision of the War Department proper, and connect them with the vast labors of the regular bureaux of the Department, and with the stupendous military operations of the war of which the merest outline has been given in this chapter, over all of which the Secretary of War had responsible administrative supervision one may have a correct notion of the immense and varied services which the Department of War rendered to the country during the war of the rebellion.

The aggregate strength of the army, regulars and volunteers, at different times during the war was as follows:

[1] See the Doc. last cited, p. 1093.

July 1, 1861	186,751
January 1, 1862	575,917
March 31, 1862	637,126
January 1, 1863	918,191
January 1, 1864	860,737
January 1, 1865	959,460
March 31, 1865	980,086
May 1, 1865[1]	1,000,516

This last number, increased considerably by recruits received after May 1, less the officers and men of the regular army, was the number to be disbanded after the close of the war. The labor of mustering out this great number of troops began in the latter part of May, 1865, and was mainly completed before the close of the year, very largely by midsummer. The disturbed or threatening situation of a number of localities in the South required the presence of a considerable military force for several months after the end of actual hostilities. By about the first of October troops to the number of eight hundred thousand nine hundred and sixty-three had been mustered out, paid off, and disbanded. The work proceeded with vigor, and on January 20, 1866, nine hundred and eighteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-two volunteers had been mustered out; March 10, nine hundred and sixty-seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven; June 30, one million ten thousand six hundred and seventy; November 1, one million twenty-three thousand and twenty-one; leaving in the service at that date eleven thousand

[1] The table is given in the final report of the provost-marshal-general (p. 102), as compiled by the adjutant-general of the army after a thorough revision of his records.

and forty-three volunteers, white and colored.[1] It thus would appear that at the close of recruitments and the stopping of the draft in May 1865 there must have been on the muster-rolls of the army one million thirty-four thousand and sixty-four (1,034,064) volunteers.

About contemporaneously with the beginning of the disbandment of the volunteers began also the reduction of the different branches of the military establishment generally and a comprehensive curtailment of military expenditures. On April 28, Secretary Stanton issued a general order "for reducing expenses of the military establishment," in which the chiefs of the different bureaux were required to immediately reduce their expenses substantially to a peace basis; stopping the purchase of supplies and animals; discharging all ocean and river transports, except such as were necessary for the transportation of troops on their way to mustering-out rendezvous; stopping all work on field fortifications and the purchase of any arms whatever; discharging prisoners of war. This nervous order was vigorously carried out, and in a very short time all the staff departments had placed themselves on the basis of a peace establishment.

And thus closed, as to the conflict of arms, the first war of rebellion in the United States. The triumph of the Union arms was complete and glorious. Most unhappily the spirit of rebellion was not conquered. It is again abroad in the land, an impending peril to the republic which every intelligent patriot and statesman must view with profoundest concern.

[1] Rep. Sec'y of War, 1866, p. 1.

At the close of the war, the regular army as authorized by law, consisted of six regiments of cavalry, each of twelve companies; five regiments of artillery, twelve companies each; ten regiments of infantry, each of one battalion of ten companies, and nine regiments of infantry, each of three battalions of eight companies; thus making of all branches four hundred and forty-eight companies. The calls for great numbers of volunteers so frequently during the war prevented the regular army from being fully recruited, and when hostilities ceased there were one hundred and fifty-three companies not organized. On the disbanding of the volunteers these were rapidly filled, and the army brought up to the maximum. By act of Congress of July 28, 1866, the organization of the army was fixed as follows: Ten regiments of cavalry, each composed of twelve companies; five regiments of artillery, each of twelve companies; forty-five regiments of infantry, each of ten companies; making six hundred and thirty companies in all. The strength of the companies as authorized by the law was a minimum of fifty privates, which in the discretion of the President might be increased to a maximum of one hundred privates in the infantry and cavalry and of one hundred and twenty-two in the artillery. On the minimum scale the army would have contained thirty-six thousand five hundred privates, on the maximum basis, sixty-four thousand three hundred and twenty. By orders, the War Department made sixty-four privates the standard for all companies, except the ten batteries of light artillery which had the maximum number; and this made the strength of the army, the com-

panies being filled to the standard, fifty-four thousand three hundred and two, rank and file. As a matter of fact the strength of the army, rank and file, September 30, 1866, was thirty-eight thousand five hundred and forty men, with enlistments proceeding quite rapidly.[1] It should be observed that of the army as organized under the act of July 28, 1866, four regiments of infantry were to be composed of officers and men who had been wounded in the service — "the Veteran Reserve corps." Two regiments of cavalry and four of infantry were composed of colored men.

To the army appropriation bill passed March 3, 1869, was attached this clause: "There shall be no new commissions, no promotions, and no enlistments in any infantry regiment until the total number of infantry regiments is reduced to twenty-five, and the Secretary of War is hereby directed to consolidate the infantry regiments as rapidly as the requirements of the public service and the reduction of the number of officers will permit." Commenting upon the manner of executing this provision of the law, General Sherman, in his annual report of the year says:

"By the same act the period for enlistments was changed from three to five years, but at that date all the enlisted men of infantry were in for three years, beginning mostly in 1866 and 1867. The Secretary of War, General Schofield, with whom by law the discretion rested, saw at once that, were he to wait for the number of officers to diminish to the standard of *twenty-five* regiments by the slow process of death and resignation, all the enlisted men would be discharged by the expiration of their terms of service, and we would be compelled to abandon many of the forts in the Indian country. He therefore very wisely resolved to make the

[1] Rep. of the Adj.-Gen. of the army for 1866, p. 2.

consolidation at once, so that new enlistments could be made to replace the men discharged by expiration of their terms of enlistment. His orders prescribing the mode and manner of consolidation were made on the 10th of March, and have been carried into effect as fast as possible considering the scattered condition of the troops. The colonels and field officers were chosen here, and announced in general orders from these headquarters. The captains and lieutenants were selected by the commanding general of the departments in which the new regiments were to serve. As a general rule, all other things being equal, the senior of each grade was retained, provided he was deemed qualified and was actually present for duty. The recruiting service was resumed on the 28th of April, and has supplied about a thousand recruits a month, barely enough to replace discharges in the more exposed garrisons of the Indian country. The consolidation has thus been effected at as little cost as possible, and on principles as fair and just as the case admitted."

Such, as affected by this consolidation, continues to be the organization of the army up to the present year 1879, namely: twenty-five regiments of infantry, ten of cavalry, and five of artillery. The general officers of the army consist of the general of the army, William T. Sherman; a lieutenant-general, Philip H. Sheridan; three major-generals, Winfield S. Hancock, John M. Schofield, Irvin McDowell; six brigadier-generals, John Pope, O. O. Howard, Alfred H. Terry, E. O. C. Ord, C. C. Augur, George Crook. Several investigations have been set on foot by Congress since the present organization of the army with the object of learning whether its reduction, as well as that of the staff departments, were advisable. The result thus far is that the organization of the entire military establishment remains substantially the same, and that the weight of opinion among our most intelligent statesmen and legislators is

against any reduction of the army or of the staff departments.

In addition to the labors devolved upon the War Department after the war by the disbandment of the volunteers and the reorganization of the regular army were those pertaining to a new bureau created by Congress by act approved March 3, 1865, and called the "bureau of freedmen, refugees, and abandoned lands," but popularly known as "the freedmen's bureau." The object contemplated in the establishment of this bureau was to supply the immediate necessities of those whose condition had been changed by the war, or were driven from their homes by the pressure of armed conflict, or the despotism of the rebellion.[1] Its aid was designed for the needy of both races, white and black, and its duty to administer aid as well from the government as from charitable individuals and associations. The bureau was organized by the assignment of General O. O. Howard to duty as commissioner, and of a number of officers of the army as his assistants and as agents of the bureau in the South. The jurisdiction of assistant commissioners coincided generally with department and district commands, throughout the South, there being also many agents and teachers of the bureau engaged in carrying out its beneficent objects. In the year 1866 more than one hundred and fifty thousand freedmen and their children regularly attended the schools established by the bureau. Schools for refugee white children were also organized and were in not a few instances highly successful. Great numbers of destitute persons were

[1] Rep. of Sec'y of War Stanton, 1865, p. 46.

helped to procure situations where they could earn a livelihood, or with the same object were put to work on the abandoned lands in the control of the bureau. Large contributions to the bureau were made by the charitable, and a number of normal schools, colleges, and universities were established. In the performance of such beneficent services as these, the bureau continued until about the beginning of the year 1870. Nearly all of the Southern States having been supplied with reconstructed governments by this time, and the executive and legislative departments of the federal government being in the control of the friends of the freedmen, it was thought their interests might be left to the local authorities. This was accordingly done; but the bureau, greatly reduced in force, continued for some time to exercise supervision over the educational interests of the freedmen, and to gratuitously collect such just claims as they had against the government.

The beneficiaries of the Freedmen's Bureau during its entire history were numbered by the million—men, women, and children, white as well as black. From the beginning it was assailed with peculiar virulence by the classes who look with hostile eyes upon all attempts to elevate an unfortunate and degraded people. Later, it was assailed by many reputable persons on account of certain alleged irregularities and peculations. Still later, it received quite general condemnation on account of the failure of the "Freedmen's Bank," with which great numbers of freedmen throughout a wide extent of country had deposited their savings. That there were gross irregularities and culpable carelessness and misman-

agement on the part of some connected with the bureau may be admitted; but a long and searching investigation into the affairs of the bureau placed the honesty and efficiency of its general management beyond dispute, and thoroughly vindicated the personal and official integrity of General Howard. As for the failure of the Freedmen's Bank, it was one of the lamentable financial misfortunes of the time, the management being no more blameworthy, perhaps, than were some of the greatest houses in the land which nevertheless went down in utter ruin before the financial storm of 1873. The evil which the Freedmen's Bureau did, or rather which some of its unworthy servants did was inconsiderable when compared with the great benefits it conferred upon its millions of beneficiaries, the good influence of which will not cease to exert itself upon the present and coming generations of colored people in America.

It was Secretary Stanton's hearty approval of the policy embodied in the act establishing the freedmen's bureau which brought about the first serious estrangement between himself and President Johnson. When the President in 1867 energetically opposed and vetoed the reconstruction measures of Congress, that estrangement became complete, becoming on the President's part an implacable, almost ferocious hatred. It was in August of that year that the President removed the Secretary and appointed General Grant Secretary of War *ad interim*. General Grant solemnly protested against the removal and accepted the office with avowed reluctance and as a duty to the country in this crisis of its affairs which he could not in good conscience avoid. The

events which followed belong to the general history of the country. Let it suffice here to state that the President found in General Grant a no more pliant instrument of his dominating will than the iron Secretary. Especially did he manifest his opposition to the removal of three of the district commanders of the South, serving under the provisions of the reconstruction acts of Congress, namely, Generals Sheridan, Pope, and Sickles. Orally and in writing General Grant opposed this act with warm-hearted zeal and with unanswerable argument. Never consenting to it, he acquiesced in it with a profound and greater than personal sorrow. Meantime political events proceeded in the turbulent manner of the excited period, and General Grant administered the affairs of the War Department with quiet efficiency, going on with the economical measures which had been instituted by Mr. Stanton, and instituting others himself. The astute politicians, some of them utterly unscrupulous, who had the ear of the President very soon learned that the insurmountable obstacle to the success of their machinations was the silent man in the War Office.

On the meeting of Congress in December the action of the President in the removal of Secretary Stanton was discussed and was declared to be unwarranted, and he was accordingly reïnstated in January 1868. In February, Brigadier-General Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general of the army, was designated by the President as Secretary of War *ad interim*. The Senate being in session Secretary Stanton declined to give up the office. There was a world of military precision in General Thomas, and he undoubtedly

held Secretary Stanton in great respect and awe. Hence he would march up to the Secretary's apartments every morning, and being bowed in by the messengers, would salute the Secretary, whereupon the Secretary with a few pleasant remarks about the weather would bow him out as politely as he had been ushered in. This entertaining ceremony was kept up for several days. On one morning, the messenger at the outer door declined to admit the General, saying, "The orders is to receive no one; the Secretary is engaged very particular." And this was the last of General Thomas as "Secretary of War *ad interim*."[1] The impeachment of President Johnson failing in the Senate, Secretary Stanton resigned in the following May.

An interesting professional labor of the Department which followed the war was the preparation and publication by the adjutant-general of an "Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the years 1861, '62, '63, '64, and '65." This register contains full rosters of the officers of all the regiments, battalions, batteries, independent companies and corps of all kinds which were mustered into the service of the Union from all the States and Territories during the conflict of arms. One may hence get a pretty correct idea of the magnitude of that conflict; for this "mere muster-roll of names" makes eight octavo volumes printed in small types. The lists of battles in which the different organizations bore honorable part are also generally given. The work is invaluable to the future historian of the

[1] I do begin to perceive that I am made an ass.—*Falstaff*, in "Merry Wives of Windsor."

war, and as showing the proportionate military force contributed to the army by the different States and Territories.

After the Mexican war, General Scott conceived the idea of devoting a large sum of money which he had levied upon the Mexicans during the war, to the establishment of an institution where aged and disabled soldiers of the United States army might find the comforts of a home during the remainder of their lives. Congress approved this benevolent design and the result was the establishment of the "Soldiers' National Home" near the city of Washington. It consists of a number of tasteful buildings appropriate to the purpose, a small church, a residence for the superintendent, and one for the summer residence of the President. There is an extensive garden, and considerable land is devoted to farming purposes. The premises include several hundred acres and form one of the most attractive public parks in the country, its fine drives, beautiful scenery of forest and lawn, and flower-gardens, and the magnificent views had therefrom making it one of the most popular places of resort which the national capital affords, and giving the soldiers a home whereat they may well be contented and happy.

After the war of the rebellion a like benevolent policy was adopted with respect to disabled volunteers who had served in that war. By acts of Congress passed in 1865 and 1866 "asylums" for disabled volunteers were established at Point Lookout, Virginia, and near Dayton, Ohio. They are each beautiful and healthful places, having ample accom-

modations as to buildings, and liberal share of grounds which are constantly being made more and more beautiful by the labors of the soldiers. These institutions are liberally supported by government from funds set apart for that purpose. By an act of Congress of February 28, 1871, soldiers of the war of 1812 and of the war with Mexico were entitled to receive the privileges of these institutions. In January 1873, Congress changed the name in each of the institutions from "asylum" to the more appropriate and cheerful name of "home." For such in reality they are — homes provided by a benignant government for large families of men who deserve well of their country. At each of these homes large numbers of men are clothed, subsisted, and given all those comforts which are evermore associated with our ideas of a home.

Not satisfied with caring for the disabled of the war the government also provided for the care of the honored dead. By an act of Congress approved July 17, 1862, the President was authorized to purchase cemetery grounds and cause them to be securely enclosed, to be used as a national cemetery for the soldiers who shall die in the service of the country. A joint resolution of Congress of April 13, 1866, was adopted as follows:

"That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and required to take immediate measures to preserve from desecration the graves of the soldiers of the United States who fell in battle or died of disease in the field and in hospital during the war of the rebellion; to secure suitable burial-places in which they may be properly interred, and to have the grounds inclosed, so that the resting-places of the honored dead may be kept sacred forever."

An act of February 22, 1867, provided:

"That in the arrangement of the national cemeteries established for the burial of deceased soldiers and sailors, the Secretary of War is hereby directed to have the same inclosed with a good and substantial stone or iron fence; and to cause each grave to be marked with a small head-stone, or block, with the number of the grave inscribed thereon, corresponding with the number opposite to the name of the party, in a register of burials to be kept at each cemetery and at the office of the quartermaster-general, which shall set forth the name, rank, company, regiment, and date of death of the officer or soldier; or if unknown, it shall be so recorded.

"That the Secretary of War is hereby directed to cause to be erected at the principal entrance of each of the national cemeteries aforesaid a suitable building to be occupied as a porter's lodge; and it shall be his duty to appoint a meritorious and trustworthy superintendent, who shall be selected from enlisted men of the army disabled in service, * * * to reside therein, for the purpose of guarding and protecting the cemetery, and giving information to parties visiting the same."

Under these authorities of the national legislature, many tracts of land for national cemeteries were bought, enclosed, and prepared for the sacred purpose contemplated by Congress. Later acts authorized the placing of larger blocks and slabs of granite or marble as head-stones for the grave each to contain an inscription giving the name of the dead, his rank, regiment, or corps with the date and manner of his death. Where these facts are unknown, the simple word "unknown" is engraved upon the stone.

There are now in different parts of the United States about eighty national cemeteries, containing about three hundred and fifty thousand graves. Some of these cemeteries are very extensive. Thus,

those at Arlington, Vicksburgh, and Nashville, contain each more than sixteen thousand graves; that at Fredericksburgh more than fifteen thousand; Memphis, about fourteen thousand; Andersonville, thirteen thousand seven hundred and seventeen; Salisbury, North Carolina, and Chalmette, Louisiana, more than twelve thousand each; Chattanooga, about thirteen thousand; while the cemeteries on famous battle-fields, as Antietam, Gettsyburgh, Seven Pines, Stone River, and others, contain the remains of from two thousand to six thousand soldiers. Nearly all of these cemeteries, whether large or small, are places of surpassing beauty; some of them such originally, others made so by labor and art. Section 4876 of the Revised Statutes provided that:

"The Secretary of War shall detail some officer of the army, not under the rank of major, to visit annually all of the national cemeteries, and to inspect and report to him the condition of the same, and the amount of money necessary to protect them, to sod the graves, gravel and grade the walks and avenues, and to keep the grounds in complete order; and the Secretary shall transmit such report to Congress at the commencement of each session, together with an estimate of the appropriation necessary for that purpose."

Under this law Secretary Belknap detailed Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar A. Mack of the Twenty-first Infantry, as inspector of national cemeteries. In 1874 Colonel Mack made a personal inspection of all the cemeteries, from Maine to Texas, and made known their condition in an elaborate report. His judgment and taste did much to increase the beauty of these honored national bivouacs of the dead. In July 1876, the law creating the office of inspector of national

cemeteries was repealed and they were placed under the charge of the quartermaster-general.[1] General Meigs, having a thorough knowledge of arboriculture, has directed many improvements as to the adornment of the cemeteries with trees and shrubbery. Their drives and walks are required to be kept constantly in good condition. It is not too much to say that the national cemeteries are to the American people a just source of national pride.

For a considerable period, Lieutenant-Colonel A. F. Rockwell, quartermaster, has had the immediate supervision of the cemeteries, and has directed great labors therein particularly with reference to placing the new blocks and slabs. In concluding his regular report for 1876, Colonel Rockwell made a most sensible suggestion, namely:

"In connection with this subject, I desire to call attention to the fact that, thus far, no provision has been made for erecting headstones at the graves of soldiers interred in other than national military cemeteries. In many cities and towns in the Northern and Western States are what are called soldiers' lots — a portion of a private or incorporated cemetery set apart for the burial of soldiers who died during or since the war. The graves were marked soon after the close of the war by the government with head-boards similar to those provided for the national cemeteries. These head-boards have, of course, decayed, and there being no authority under the law, as it now exists, for replacing them with permanent head-stones, there is some danger that the identity of the graves will be lost unless either the head-boards are renewed — which would only be a temporary expedient, and an expensive one — or head-stones are furnished similar to those erected in the

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Mack, while on a tour of inspection in the early summer of 1875, was taken suddenly ill and died at some town in Missouri. He was a gallant soldier, and a gentleman of amiable dispositions and lofty character.

national cemeteries. It is estimated that there are about seventeen thousand graves to be provided with these head-stones, and the numerous applications which the Department has received, asking that they be furnished, indicate that there is a very general desire on the part of those interested in the matter that the graves of the soldiers interred in these incorporated and village cemeteries should receive the same attention from the government as is bestowed on those in the national cemeteries."

This suggestion was adopted by Congress, and in accordance with a law thereof of February 3, 1879, the graves of all soldiers in other than national cemeteries, will have appropriate head-stones before the beginning of 1880.

While this work is passing through the press, the old War Department building is being torn down. It is gratifying to know it will be in part permanently preserved. The portico has been dedicated to Arlington National Cemetery. Four of the pillars will be used, precisely as they stood for some sixty years in the old building, at the principal entrance to the cemetery. In like manner the other two will stand at the secondary entrance. Thus the old building will in an appropriate manner have its memory preserved, and, let us hope, forever.

The recent history of the Department may be briefly related. The event of greatest general interest connected therewith was the impeachment of ex-Secretary Belknap. But as at the time, he had retired from the Department, I shall reserve what I have to say on that subject till I come to relate the events of his life, in the second part of this work. The removal of the troops from New Orleans, Louisiana, and Columbia, South Carolina, in the early summer of 1877 was done in accordance with the

general policy of President Hayes's administration rather than as an act of the War Department. Later in that same year, events of the most exciting and alarming nature occurred. Beginning at Baltimore, Maryland, and Martinsburgh, West Virginia, large numbers of railroad employés struck against a proposed reduction of wages, and their course was speedily followed by others in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The strikers forcibly prevented others from taking their places, and in consequence great and bloody riots occurred. The governor of Maryland called upon the President for United States troops, and a similar call was very soon made by the governor of West Virginia, and this was followed by a call from the governor of Pennsylvania. Meanwhile the destruction of life had been considerable and of property immense. The President promptly responded to the calls, and in an incredibly short time the War Department had placed at each of the principal points of danger a considerable military force. Wherever the United States troops appeared, the rioters instantly began to grow quiet and to disperse; and it was not long until uprisings which had threatened the country with universal plunder were perfectly allayed, and quiet restored. All this was done by the simple presence of the United States troops. Not a gun was fired nor a sword drawn.

In the following year a calamity occurred of a very different nature — the prevalence of the yellow fever to an unprecedented extent in the valley of the Southern Mississippi. The War Department was speedily called upon for aid. There was no express

law authorizing the Department to render assistance in such case. Neither was there a law against it. Secretary McCrary therefore decided the case on the law of humanity, and forthwith authorized the issuing of tents, blankets, and rations in aid of the sufferers. Requisitions of the kind kept pouring in from the authorities of the afflicted cities and towns, and their justice being established, they were promptly filled by Mr. McCrary's orders. The amount of good thus accomplished by the Department was beyond calculation great.

Ever since he has had charge of the War Office, Secretary McCrary has manifested a warm interest in the Signal Bureau, using his endeavors to have its great usefulness extended in our own country and others. They have been so far successful during the current year 1879, that the connections of the bureau with similar institutions abroad have been so greatly increased that the Signal Office can daily present an accurate weather chart of the whole civilized world. That this constant scientific intercourse between the nations will be of beneficent influence in the interest of universal peace and civilization there can be no doubt.





PART II.

LIVES OF THE SECRETARIES.

HISTORY

OF THE

WAR DEPARTMENT.

PART II.

LIVES OF THE SECRETARIES.

GENERAL HENRY KNOX,

FIRST SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE first Secretary of War under the Constitution of the United States was Major-General Henry Knox of Massachusetts. He had also occupied that office for several years under the government of the Confederation. He was of Scotch-Irish blood, on his father's side, and was born in Boston, July 25, 1750, in a house which is still standing — or was a very few years ago — on Sea street opposite the head of Drake's wharf. About the time he had completed his grammar-school course his father died, and the support of his widowed mother and younger brother devolved upon him. Happily, he procured an advantageous situation with Messrs. Wharton & Bowes, leading booksellers of Boston; advantageous because his salary more than sufficed for the support of the family and because the position gave him op-

portunities of reading and study of incalculable value to his active and vigorous mind. He was a great and rapid reader and a careful thinker on what he read, so that for intellectual discipline the humble position of a bookseller's clerk was almost tantamount to a regular collegiate course. He was afterwards generally accounted one of the best informed men in the country, and the first two Presidents of the republic very often sought knowledge of him particularly with regard to military affairs. While a clerk in a bookstore young Knox acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the French language and literature and of the Greek and Latin classics through translations. It is also to be noted that he paid especial attention to military studies and early in life became fully and accurately informed in the theory of the art of war. That way lay his genius.

Knox was of a robust frame, always in vigorous health, and bore a prominent part in the athletic sports and out-door exercises of the time. Several instances of his uncommon physical strength are related.

On reaching his legal majority, Knox entered into the business which he now so well understood on his own account. In the "Gazette" of July 29, 1771, is this advertisement: "This day is opened a new London Bookstore by HENRY KNOX, opposite Williams' Court in Cornhill, Boston, who has just imported in the last ships from London a large and very elegant assortment of the most modern books in all branches of Literature, Arts, and Sciences (catalogues of which will be published soon), and to be sold as cheap as can be bought at any place in town. Also a com-

plete assortment of stationery." Evidently, Knox had learned the art of advertising, one of the first requisites to success in business. He succeeded admirably until the Boston Port Bill put a quietus upon pretty much all business at Boston.

Meantime, Knox had become proficient in practical military affairs. He had added to his knowledge acquired from books a vast fund of practical information through conversations with many British officers who habitually visited his bookstore and from observations of the manœuvres of troops in Boston. Moreover, at the age of eighteen years he had joined a military company and rarely failed to attend its drills and parades. Later, he joined Captain Pierce's "Boston Grenadier Corps," the crack military organization of Boston, being second in command, and chief in drilling and disciplining the corps.

In July 1773, Knox lost the two smaller fingers of his left hand by the bursting of his fowling-piece while on a gunning excursion. He always concealed this physical defect by the graceful use of a handkerchief or, when in uniform, his military scarf. On the next parade of the Grenadier Corps, his hand gracefully bandaged with a scarf, Knox excited special attention, and particularly aroused the sympathies of the ladies. Among these was Miss Lucy Flucker, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Flucker, Secretary of the Province, and who was distinguished as a young lady of high intellectual endowments, very fond of books. She had often visited Knox's bookstore and an attachment had grown up between them which now ripened into love. The lady's father and family were rank royalists; Knox was an ardent patriot; they

strenuously opposed the marriage; but the young people, as usual, won the game, and they were married June 16, 1774.

I may as well here as anywhere give a brief account of their domestic life. They were a happy and comfortable couple. In the earlier years of her married life Mrs. Knox was, perhaps, something of a gossip, but she got bravely over this female foible, and was universally esteemed as an intellectual and earnest woman. She often visited her husband in camp and was greatly popular with the army. She was good-natured, but not so good-natured as he. Once in awhile her temper would get the better of her, whereas in family differences he was evermore humorous and jolly. Said Harrison Gray Otis in a letter written in 1845: "As Knox's matrimonial connection was a love-match, and both parties possessed great good sense and were proud of each other, it was understood by their friends that their mutual attachment had never waned. It was, however, well known that they frequently differed in opinion upon the current trifles of the day, and that the *iræ amantium*, though always followed by the *integratio amoris*, were not unfrequent; and that in those petty skirmishes our friend showed his generalship by a skilful retreat. On one occasion at a very large dinner-party at their own house, the cloth having been removed, the General ordered the servants to take away also the woollen cover, which madam with an audible voice prohibited. He then instantly, addressing the whole circle, observed, 'This subject of the under-cloth is the only one on which Mrs. Knox and I have differed since our marriage.' The

archness and good humor of this appeal to the company were irresistible, and produced, as was intended, a general merriment." They were not only a happy and comfortable couple, but an immense couple. He weighed nearly three hundred pounds and she was proportionately stout. She is thus described by Dr. Manasseh Cutler who dined with the General in July, 1787, at New York: "Dined with General Knox, introduced to his lady and a French nobleman, Marquis Lotbinière. Mrs. Knox is very gross (fleshy), but her manners are easy and agreeable. She is sociable and would be agreeable were it not for her affected singularity in dressing her hair. Her hair in front is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn bottom upward, and topped off with a wire skeleton in the same form, covered with black gauze, which hangs in streamers down to her back. Her hair behind is a large braid and confined with a monstrous crooked comb." "The worthy doctor," says Drake, the biographer of Knox, "was evidently unaccustomed to the *coiffure* of the fashionable lady of that day." The description reminds one of the "superb piece of architecture" which adorned the head-gear of Miss Griselda Oldbuck in Scott's "Antiquary." Mrs. William S. Smith writing from New York in 1788 to her mother, Mrs. John Adams, says: "General and Mrs. Knox have been very polite and attentive to us. * Mrs. Knox is neat in her dress, attentive to her family, and very fond of her children. But her size is enormous. I am frightened when I look at her; I verily believe that her waist is as large as three of yours at least. The General is not half so fat as he was." She was described, even after

she was sixty years of age, as "a remarkably fine-looking woman, with brilliant black eyes, and a blooming complexion." The home over which she presided was always the scene of a liberal and genial hospitality. To this happy couple twelve children were born, nine of whom died in infancy or early age. Two sons lived to mature age and were married, but died without issue. Descendants of a daughter, Lucy, who married Ebenezer Thatcher, are still living. Admiral Henry Knox Thatcher was a grandson of the first Secretary of War. Mrs. Knox survived her husband nearly eighteen years.

In less than a year after his marriage Knox was called to the field where he remained without intermission save a few brief leaves of absence for eight years. On the first anniversary of his marriage, he quitted Boston in disguise, his departure having been forbidden by Gage, and, accompanied by his wife, also in disguise and who had quilted in her petticoat his sword, betook himself to the patriot army at Cambridge. Repairing to the headquarters of General Ward, he entered at once upon military duties, without commission, acting as voluntary aid to the general commanding. His services in preparing for the battle of Bunker Hill, which occurred next day, immediately brought him into the favorable notice of the prominent officers of the army. After the battle he was by general consent given the supervision of the artillery and field works, and his energy and skill herein were so conspicuous that General Washington had not been long at Cambridge before Knox became a favorite adviser and confidential friend,—a relation that continued to subsist until severed by death.

Washington recommended Knox to Congress for the position of chief of artillery with the rank of Colonel, and Congress made the appointment in November 1775. But meantime Knox had devised a plan to supply the army besieging Boston with artillery, its greatest need. In accordance therewith he proceeded by New York and Albany to Fort Ticonderoga, and thence with incredible labor and difficulty had transported by lake and river and land fifty-five pieces of ordnance and other valuable store of ammunition. In transporting these stores from Albany to Springfield on sleds made for the purpose eighty yoke of oxen were used; at Springfield these were exchanged for eighty fresh yoke. The "noble train of artillery" reached the patriot army early in 1776, with the help of which Washington was soon able to drive the British out of Boston. On March 4th, under cover of a furious cannonade from the entire artillery under Knox, General Thomas took possession of Dorchester Heights, and at once so strongly fortified them that the British saw that any attempt to dislodge him under the fire of Knox's guns would be futile. Within a fortnight Howe, who now had the chief command of the British army, evacuated Boston, and was accompanied in his fleet by most of the royalists of the town.

Soon afterwards Washington removed his headquarters to New York. Knox did not at once accompany him thither, but spent some time in Connecticut and Rhode Island, planning and supervising the construction of certain military works in those provinces. He reached New York on the 30th of April, and at once assumed command of the artillery

of the main patriot army under Washington. From this time forth until the close of the war, he was so constantly and intimately associated with his illustrious commander-in-chief that a full account of his life could hardly be written without relating about all the stirring and momentous events which form the history of the patriot army of the Revolution under Washington. For in all its victories and defeats, its audacious advances and masterly retreats, its many joys and many sorrows, he fully and conspicuously participated. Even the British on several occasions were forced to praise the skill and vigor with which the American artillery was handled, and for the final surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown the struggling country was very largely indebted to the genius of him who became our first Secretary of War. "The resources of his genius," said Washington in a report to the President of Congress, "supplied the deficit of means."

I will here briefly indicate rather than fully relate the part borne by General Knox from the time he arrived in New York as above stated until the close of the Revolutionary war. The artillery at New York consisted of 121 guns, many of them old and of little account. They were in forts, redoubts, and batteries extending over a large area, so that Knox during Washington's occupancy of New York was undoubtedly the busiest man in the whole army. He wrote to his brother: "My constant fatigue and application to the business of my extensive department have been such that I have not had my clothes off once o' nights for more than forty days." He always rose before sun-up and from then till 9 or 10

o'clock at night was constantly engaged. He was not personally present at the battle of Long Island (August 27), being obliged, as he said, "to wait on my Lord Howe and the navy gentry who threatened to pay us a visit." On Washington's evacuation of New York Knox had charge of the rear guard, and was among the very last to leave the city. He came near being captured, but siezing a boat he escaped, proceeding to Harlem by water, where he was welcomed with cheers by the army and the embraces of Washington. In the engagements of Harlem Plains and White Plains in the autumn of this year, the artillery was not conspicuous. Knox, in company with his commander-in-chief, witnessed the loss of Fort Washington with unspeakable chagrin but without the means to avert the calamity. Soon afterwards Fort Lee was evacuated and the patriot army entered upon its memorable retreat through the Jerseys. The famous crossing of the Delaware on Christmas night of this year was entirely under the supervision of Knox, whose stentorian voice, equal to that of Jupiter Tonans, was heard in every command ringing loud and clear above the roar of the tempest, the deep murmurings of the current, and the crunchings of the floating masses of ice. In the battle of Trenton of the following morning he bore a preëminently conspicuous part and was thanked in strong terms in general orders by Washington. On the very next day, though without a knowledge of the battle of Trenton, Congress created Knox a brigadier-general with entire command of the artillery of the main continental army. On January 3d, 1777, the battle of Princeton was fought. Here

Knox participated but not in the conspicuous manner which he had done at Trenton. Nevertheless, it was the artillery that in the end turned the British to the right about and almost put them in disordered rout. This audacious campaign placed the British sixty miles from Philadelphia, whereas at its beginning they had been within less than twenty miles of that city. On the recommendation of Knox, Washington selected Morristown for his winter cantonment. Knox himself proceeded to the Eastern States to replenish his supply of ordnance. In the spring of this year (1777) he spent some time with General Greene planning the defenses of the Hudson. In 1777 there arrived in this country a Mr. Ducoudray from France bearing an appointment from Mr. Deane, American minister at Paris, as "commander-in-chief of the continental artillery." This caused trouble, and Generals Knox, Sullivan, and Greene, wrote to Congress upon the subject. Washington also ardently protested against the appointment, for the reason that it would cause the retirement of General Knox, "one of the most valuable officers in the service." Congress at length passed a resolve that Mr. Deane had exceeded his authority and the difficulty came to an end. The principal events in the theatre of war occupied by Washington of the year 1777 were the battles of the Brandywine, September 11th, and of Germantown, October 4th. Both were well-fought engagements, the former an American defeat, the latter at first a victory but turned into a retreat by reason of a sudden dense fog which prevented intelligent movements. In both of these engagements Knox was

conspicuous, but after the British at Germantown had taken possession of some strong stone houses — a sort of forts ready-made for them — he advised against further advance until they had been taken. Some writers have asserted that but for this, the Americans might have continued to advance and actually taken Philadelphia. Knox himself attributed the final loss of the day to the fog and the possession of the stone houses by the enemy. Between the battle of the Brandywine and that of Germantown, Knox gave considerable attention to the forts on the Delaware below Philadelphia, but they were in succession taken by the British or abandoned by the Americans. In the early part of the following winter — the winter of Washington's sadly memorable encampment at Valley Forge — Knox went to New England and there spent several weeks, engaged in public business and visiting his family. He returned early in the spring, and was followed by his wife in May who during that month joined the General at Valley Forge and from this time forth until the close of the war remained in camp or near the army. The only specially notable event with the main army during the year 1778 was the battle of Monmouth, June 28th. In the earlier part of this engagement the Americans were badly worsted, as is now generally believed through the treachery of General Lee, whose conduct caused Washington himself to explode in a terrific escape of profanity. Lee's retreat of two miles was checked by the artillery under Knox, and the reverse of the morning was turned into a victory, the British compelled to retreat after being terribly punished, leaving the field in possession of the

Americans. On this fine fight Washington in general orders says he "can with pleasure inform General Knox and the officers of the artillery that the enemy had done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could have been better served than ours." The year 1779 was a period of much monotony with the main army and with Knox. The following year was noted for serious difficulties with the troops of the New Jersey and Pennsylvania line, which were at length adjusted without a general mutiny. In the settlement of these troubles the good nature and patience and fine sense of justice of Knox were of vast value to the patriot cause. Another event of the year of special moment to Knox was the treason of General Arnold. In the company of Washington and La Fayette, General Knox visited the Count de Rochambeau at Hartford about the 20th of September, where there was held an interesting conference upon the subject of the future conduct of the war by the now allied powers of the United States and France. Immediately upon the return of Washington and Knox to West Point the treason of Arnold was discovered in the manner well known to all. General Knox sat in the court-martial which tried Major André. The General had met him several years before and they had spent a night together, a night of great intellectual and social pleasure. To condemn André was unquestionably the hardest and saddest duty of General Knox's life, but the proofs being conclusive he performed his duty with firmness and with tears. Early in 1781 Knox, at the special request of Washington, visited the Eastern States to make known the sad situation

of the army on account of the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line and to aid in forwarding recruits. The errand was successful. He returned in a few weeks, and remaining near headquarters in the vicinity of New York accompanied the army southward in August, when Washington marched against Cornwallis in Virginia. The siege of Yorktown speedily followed, in which Knox, being in command of the artillery, naturally took the leading part. On the 19th of October Cornwallis surrendered unconditionally, and the war of the Revolution was virtually closed in the triumph of the American arms.

In March 1782, General Knox and Gouverneur Morris were appointed a commission to procure a general exchange of prisoners, to provide for their subsistence, etc. The commission, after many interchanges of views with the British, failed to accomplish the object. In the same month Knox was promoted a major-general, his commission dating from November 15, 1781. On August 29th, 1782, Knox was appointed to the command of the post at West Point, whose defenses he found altogether inadequate to stand a siege. During the autumn of this year and the winter of 1782–83 there was great discontent in the army on account of arrearages of pay still due. This discontent actually became so serious in the spring of 1783 as to seriously threaten the peace of the country. It is well known that the labors and impressive eloquence of Washington were the most potent influences in calming this storm. He was ably seconded by Knox who at the general meeting of officers held March 15, moved the resolutions which were adopted thanking Washington for his

patriotic course, and declaring their reliance on the good faith of Congress and the country and a determination to bear with patience their grievances till in due time they should be redressed. It was about this time that the Society of the Cincinnati was instituted of which General Knox was the founder. The object of the Society was the perpetuation of friendship among officers of the army, now about to be disbanded, and the creation of a fund for the widows and orphans of officers who had died or should die in indigent circumstances. Membership was limited to the officers of the revolutionary army and their male descendants on the rule of primogeniture on which account the Society came to be much criticised as containing the elements of an hereditary aristocracy. This objection was unfounded and the Society accomplished much good then and since. It is still in existence having several branches in different parts of the country.[1] Of the Society, as perfected in the spring of 1783, Washington was chosen first President and Knox Secretary.

In August of this year Knox was left in command of the army and a few weeks thereafter he began the difficult and delicate task of disbanding it. On November 25th the British evacuated New York and on the same day Knox entered the city at the head of

[1] The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati in 1873 published a work — for limited circulation only — entitled "Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, Major-General in the American Revolutionary Army," to which I am mainly indebted for the materials of this sketch. The work was prepared for the Society by Mr. Francis S. Drake, which fact of itself would be sufficient guaranty to all intelligent Americans of its faithful and happy execution.

the American troops. On the 4th of the following month the general officers still remaining in the service met their beloved Washington to give and receive farewells, when occurred one of the most memorable and touching incidents of the whole revolutionary era. Knox kept up a correspondence with his illustrious chief until Washington's death. Indeed, one long letter to him was written some days after his death occurred. Early in 1784, the work of disbanding the army having been about completed, Knox returned to Boston and took up his residence in Dorchester near by. In the reception of La Fayette in the autumn of this year, Knox bore the most prominent part. On March 8, 1785, he was appointed Secretary of War by Congress at a salary of $2,450. On this appointment Washington wrote to him "Without a compliment, I think a better choice could not have been made."

An event of great importance that occurred while Knox was Secretary of War under the government of the Confederation was "Shays's rebellion" in Massachusetts. The Secretary personally repaired to Massachusetts, to advise with General Lincoln upon the situation with particular reference to the defense of the arsenal at Springfield. It is well known that the insurrection was promptly repressed. It was one of the many things, however, that contributed to the ardent federalism of General Knox. From the close of the war to the adoption of the federal Constitution of 1787, he maintained active correspondence with Washington and other eminent patriots upon the political situation all the time demanding a strong government, and denouncing the Confederation as

no better than a rope of sand. His views were greatly intelligent and expressed with unusual logical force. In a letter to Washington of January 14, 1787, he laid down a plan of government which he thought the proposed Convention ought to adopt. Its main suggestions now form several of the principal provisions of the federal Constitution. The Constitution being adopted, though he did not approve it in all respects, he earnestly advocated its ratification.

On the formation of the new government in 1789, Knox was continued in the office of Secretary of War, his commission bearing date September 12th, on which day the War Department of the present government of the United States may be said to have been practically instituted. He had already given much labor to the organization of an uniform system of militia throughout the United States, but his vigorous plans herein were not adopted. The army of the United States was by him organized on the legionary formation and for some time that system was continued. At this time the War Department had charge of Indian affairs, and Knox's policy herein was noted for vigor and humanity. In the early part of his administration some defeats at the hands of the Indians were suffered in the north-west, but General Wayne being sent thither soon conquered a lasting and advantageous peace. Several just and humane treaties were also made with Indian tribes of the South. It is to be borne in mind that Knox was Secretary of the Navy as well as Secretary of War. As such he was, in fact, the founder of the navy of the United States, which has since conferred such illustrious and imperishable renown upon the

republic. Though he and Jefferson of the cabinet differed widely in political theories they agreed heartily in the necessity of a navy and were the only ones of the administration who did. Knox so strenuously advocated the establishment of a regular navy and was so earnestly seconded by the Secretary of State, that he was at length successful, and the construction of six frigates was authorized by act of Congress of March 27, 1794. One of these was the famous "Constitution." But before the navy was afloat, Knox carried out a determination long before reached, and resigned his position in the cabinet. His resignation took effect on the last day of the year 1794. His principal reason for this step was the inadequacy of the salary and, as he said in his letter, "the indispensable claims of a wife and a growing and numerous family of children, whose sole hopes of comfortable competence rest upon my life and exertions." Washington accepted the resignation with regret, and said: "I cannot suffer you, however, to close your public service without uniting, with the satisfaction which must arise in your own mind of a conscious rectitude, my most perfect persuasion that you have deserved well of your country."

General Knox remained in Philadelphia till June, when he started for his home in what is now Thomaston, Maine, and where he owned a vast tract of land, embracing a considerable portion of three counties. He met with a distinguished reception at Boston and remained there several days. At Thomaston he had a large and elegant mansion where he spent the remainder of his life, happily passing the time in various business enterprises and in dispensing

liberal hospitality. There was, perhaps, as much enjoyment in his mansion as in any home in America. He was visited by distinguished men from other lands and by very many of our own eminent in affairs, in literature, the arts and sciences. He engaged largely in the manufacture of bricks and in the lumber business. He was constantly improving his vast landed estate, and introduced new and better breeds of sheep and cattle. He quite extensively engaged also in ship-building and several vessels were launched from yards on the waters of his estate whose capacity for navigation he also greatly improved. He was, perhaps, the most enterprising business man of what is now the State of Maine. He also carried on an active correspondence with many eminent men of the country. In 1796, he was a commissioner on the north-eastern boundary question, a member of the General Court in 1801 and of the Governor's Council in 1804.

The manner of his death was singular. He accidentally swallowed a piece of chicken-bone while dining which so lodged in his stomach as to cause mortification and, of course, death. He died on October 25, 1806, at the age of only fifty-six years.

I have thus related at considerable length the principal events in the life of General Knox, not only because he was the first Secretary of War under our present government and the founder of the American navy, but also because he was an extraordinarily good and able man and, for the reason that he wrote little and spoke less for the public, has not been justly appreciated by the American people. Moreover, he has been the object of a

grossly ignorant attack in a popular magazine by Mr. James Parton, who surely has a more versatile talent for mistakes than any other author living or dead.

Henry Knox was a great soldier and admirable executive officer not only, but a thoroughly intelligent and sagacious statesman. I have already stated that in a letter to Washington he sketched a plan of government which was substantially adopted by the Federal Convention of 1787. The now resurrected vagaries of irredeemable paper money and communism met with his emphatic condemnation an hundred years ago, and his general views on finance would be now sustained by all thoughtful and intelligent minds. "Paper money and Tender Law," said he in a letter to La Fayette, "engross her [Rhode Island's] attention entirely; this is, in other words, plundering the orphan and widow by virtue of laws." In all the modern discussions of this question, I doubt if the truth has been more tersely stated. I believe he was the first to suggest the establishment of a national military academy, and he surely originated the now great manufacture of military material at Springfield. These were acts of good statesmanship as well as evidences of military foresight. He was in general politics a ferocious federalist, but no more so than Hamilton whose considerable statesmanship has never been questioned by any mind entitled to respect. On most questions of practical statesmanship he was thoroughly informed and thoroughly sound. General Knox was not only a great soldier and wise statesman; he was an ardent and incorruptible patriot. No purer man ever served the

republic; not even Washington himself quitted public life with cleaner hands.

In private life he was wonderfully genial and agreeable. Though he could not make a public speech with effect he was a remarkably fine conversationalist—full of unostentatious knowledge, wit, and humor. His originality of idea and of expression was always very marked. No one could talk with him five minutes without perceiving that he was a man of genius. His person was immense, his presence commanding, but he ever so overflowed with the milk of human kindness that all who approached him were at once made to feel at their ease, comfortable, and happy.

HON. TIMOTHY PICKERING,

SECOND SECRETARY OF WAR.

GENERAL KNOX was succeeded in the War Department by Timothy Pickering, at this time a resident of Pennsylvania, but before and afterwards an eminent citizen of Massachusetts. He had been Postmaster-General, at that time not a cabinet office, for about three years.

He was born in Salem, Massachusetts, July 17, 1745, his ancestry belonging to the Pilgrim Fathers' stock of purest blood serene. He had all the advantages of early intellectual discipline and was graduated from Harvard University in 1763. He then pursued a course of legal studies and was admitted to the bar in 1768. He speedily gained a prominent position as a lawyer. Eight years after his admission to the bar he was appointed a judge of the court of Common Pleas of Essex county and sole Judge of the Maritime Court of the Middle District, embracing the ports of Boston, Salem, and others in Essex.

He had just reached the years of mature manhood when the political troubles between America and the mother-country began generally to agitate the minds of the people. While he was a student at law James Otis, the Adamses, and others in Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry and his compatriots in Virginia were rousing the people to opposition to the acts of the

British government unfriendly to American trade and freedom, and the first American "Congress" assembled at New York (1765). Young Pickering participated in the excitement of the time and being an ardent "Whig" took an influential and prominent part in the patriot cause. He was colonel of the Essex Militia regiment, a body of men of hardy yeomanry between 600 and 700 strong. With this command he opposed armed resistance to the British troops as early as February 26, 1775, when he prevented their crossing a bridge at Salem while on a march to seize certain military stores. This was nearly two months before the bloody affairs of Lexington and Concord aroused the Colonies to arms. Before this time he had been a recognized leader among the Whigs often arousing them by writings and addresses. In 1784 he wrote and delivered the address of the people of Salem to Governor Gage in protest against the Boston Port Bill. In patriotic labors of this kind and in the performance of his duties on the bench he was engaged until the autumn of 1776, when he joined the main patriot army under Washington with his famous Essex regiment, now numbering upwards of 700 men rank and file. He did not, however, long remain with the army at this time, his various civic offices compelling his return to Massachusetts. But he remained long enough to impress Washington with a sense of his unusual general knowledge and his capacity for military affairs. Hence on March 30th, 1777, Washington wrote to Colonel Pickering a highly complimentary letter offering him the position of Adjutant-General of the army,—an offer all the more

complimentary to Pickering because Congress had indicated a preference in behalf of Colonel William Lee for the office. Pickering at first declined, assigning several reasons therefor — the real one being his want of confidence in his capacity for military affairs — but was induced to reconsider this determination and to accept the place. He arrived at headquarters, Middlebrook, New Jersey, on June 17, and on the next day general orders announced his appointment as Adjutant-General. Soon afterwards in a letter to his wife, he says, "I am very happy in the General's family." He was present at the battle of the Brandywine and of Germantown in the autumn of this year, and thought the British loss at the former engagement larger than the American.

In October Congress by resolution changed the formation of the "Board of War" which had theretofore consisted of members of Congress, and required that it should be composed of persons not members of the Congress. The powers of the Board corresponded with the present powers of the Secretary of War. General Mifflin, Colonel Robert H. Harrison, and Colonel Pickering were first elected the members of the Board, but Colonel Harrison declining the appointment, the number of the Board was increased to five, and it was fully organized in November, General Gates, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, and Richard Peters, Esq. being added. General Gates was made president of the Board. Colonel Pickering, however, continued to perform the duties of Adjutant-General until about the middle of January, 1778. On the 30th of that month he left the encampment at Valley Forge and proceeded to York,

Pennsylvania, where Congress was at the time in session. He remained here in attending the sessions of the Board and performing his duties therein till Congress returned to Philadelphia, when the Board also went thither. He and Mr. Peters were the working members of the Board from the beginning to the end of its existence. It received no little criticism both from Congress and the army, but it may now be clearly seen that in most of the acrimonious disputes of the time the Board was decidedly in the right. At this time Colonel Pickering's salary was four thousand dollars, Continental currency, his personal and family expenses about fourteen thousand. In a letter on the sad financial situation he quaintly complains of being about out of shirts and that he had already worn his clothes threadbare on *both* sides. In a letter of December 13, 1779, to his brother, he stated that the price of a pair of shoes in Philadelphia was one hundred dollars. At this time a dollar in money was worth about twenty-six "dollars" in Continental currency.

Early in 1780 Generals Schuyler and Mifflin and Colonel Pickering were appointed a commission on the general reform of the staff departments of the army. The labors of the commission were generally approved by a resolve of Congress, and the reforms suggested for the Quartermaster-General's office were directed to be speedily carried out. General Greene, serving as Quartermaster-General, was opposed to many of the changes recommended and with no little dudgeon declined to serve longer in that capacity.

On the 5th of August Colonel Pickering was unanimously elected Quartermaster-General by Con-

gress, with the rank of Colonel and the pay and rations of a brigadier-general. He was also continued as a member of the Board of War, his pay for that office being suspended, however, while he should remain Quartermaster-General. He filled this most difficult and laborious position during the remainder of the war; and with very marked success. The finances were, by reason of *fiat* money, in an absolutely horrible situation. His first requisition was for a million dollars, worth only about fourteen thousand dollars! He originated the plan of *specie certificates* in temporary satisfaction of vouchers and for payment of salaries. The scheme worked admirably in practice, greatly improving the credit of the Department, but Congress interfered with it by the emission of new legal-tenders, and came near bringing everything into ruin again. But Pickering personally visited Philadelphia in the spring of 1781 and by his personal influence persuaded Congress to permit him substantially to conduct his department on a specie-paying basis. This was the salvation of the army and of the cause of the Revolution. In every respect Colonel Pickering conducted this important branch of the service with notable wisdom and success, instituting not a few valuable reforms in cutting off supernumeraries, etc., and all the time managing the affairs of the Department with economy and perfect integrity. He had a number of contests with certain State agents and with Congress growing out of his official operations, and in every instance held his own against his opponents. He wielded a powerful and caustic pen. Growing out of a long contest with respect to certain forage he had taken in West

Chester county, was a dispute with Colonel Udny Hay, which resulted in Hay's challenging Pickering to fight a duel. He declined the challenge on the ground that "duelling was an absurd and barbarous practice, not deciding whether a man was or was not in error, and sometimes scarcely whether he was brave or a coward." On the 1st of January, 1783, the Quartermaster's department was reorganized, and the pay of the chief officer considerably reduced. Nevertheless, Colonel Pickering continued in the service. During this very month, he was arrested for debt, the evidence of the debt being certain certificates he had issued for army supplies! He defended and won the suit, of course. The duties of the office of Quartermaster-General after the disbandment of the revolutionary army were comparatively unimportant. He himself recommended the abolition of the office and this being done July 25, 1785, he went into private life, after nine years of about as hard work in the army as fell to the lot of any one person. He had, however, for some time been engaged in private business as a commission merchant at Philadelphia, and continued to reside there.

A very romantic and remarkable episode in the life of Colonel Pickering was his residence for several years in Luzerne county. The history of "the Wyoming Valley," with the terrible massacre, the long years of agitation and commotion over the disputed claim of Connecticut and Pennsylvania to the territory, and the disputes between corporations and individuals as to the title to lands — all this is matter of general history. In 1786, the Wyoming territory

was organized into a large county called Luzerne, and for the purpose of practically organizing the county, Colonel Pickering was appointed clerk of the various courts, a Judge of the court of Common Pleas, register of wills, and recorder of deeds. He was given full powers to call elections for elective officers and, in a word, to set the political machine in motion. It was believed that his well known character for justice and the fact that he was a New England man would enable him to put an end to the disturbed situation of affairs more quickly than could be done by any one else. In the autumn, he made a journey on horseback to the country, going as far up the Susquehanna as Tioga, had considerable tracts of land surveyed, and bought a farm for himself. In January, 1787, he went thither and organized the county. He was instrumental in the passage of an act quieting titles, and for a time matters went on well enough. But old animosities began again to assert themselves, and this act of the legislature being repealed, the valley again fell into a situation of chronic commotion. Colonel Pickering, having been prominent in the arrest and imprisonment of a leading man among the troublesome spirits, a large number of his adherents undertook to kidnap him in revenge. They attacked his house by night, October 2d, but he escaped to the woods and after great hardships and suffering reached Philadelphia. He was soon afterwards elected a delegate from Luzerne county to the convention which ratified the federal Constitution. In that body he labored earnestly for ratification. He returned to Wyoming in January, 1788, but only to have more and greater

troubles with the rough inhabitants of that disturbed country. He was warned to leave the country, but, remarking that he could not afford to give up his farm and buildings, he declined to comply with the request. Near midnight on the 26th of June, he was forcibly siezed in his bed by a gang of twenty masked men and abducted. He was then bound and carried off into the woods. In this imprisonment, part of the time handcuffed and with an immense chain fastened to one of his ankles, he remained for about three weeks, being moved about from place to place in the fastnesses of the country, and nearly all the time sleeping in the open air. The State authorities made a vigorous search for him, bodies of militia scouring the country with this object, but without success, though often within gun-shot of the game they were pursuing. At length he prevailed upon the men to release him. On reaching home, so great had been the hardships he had endured in his imprisonment, so changed and haggard was his appearance that his children, not knowing him, fled from him in alarm. His abductors were tried, fined, and imprisoned, but believing most of them to be ignorant men misguided by others who deserted them in their pinch, Colonel Pickering interceded for their pardon which was in several instances granted. This was the last great crime of "the dark and bloody ground" of Wyoming, the end of a period of thirty years' commotion. After this, largely by reason of Pickering's influence, the famed valley had peace and quiet, and in a few years became permanently prosperous.

In the autumn of 1789, Colonel Pickering was elected a delegate from Luzerne to a convention

to revise the constitution of Pennsylvania. The convention sat during the winter and far into the spring of 1790, when it took a long recess. It did not adjourn till September. Colonel Pickering was a constant attendant upon its sittings, giving close attention to all debates, but especial attention to the subject of popular education. Chiefly through his labors and influence wise and liberal provisions on this subject were made part of the constitution. After the adjournment of the convention, he returned to his home and continued to conduct his farm in person and attend to the light duties of his offices. He lived in a large, two-story house, made of logs, hewn and so put together as to make not only a comfortable but a quite tasteful home. He was no amateur but a downright, hard-working, horny-handed farmer.

Immediately after the adjournment of the constitutional convention, President Washington appointed Colonel Pickering a commissioner to the Seneca Indians to treat with them with regard to certain murders of members of their nation by whites. He was successful in his mission, manifesting great sagacity in his management of the difficult and delicate business entrusted to his charge. He was afterwards made a commissioner with more extensive powers to the Six Nations and was in this instance equally successful. Later, and even while he was Postmaster-General he was employed in like service, and, except in one instance where the commission was thwarted by the secret machinations of British officers, he was greatly successful. His management of Indian affairs while he was at the head of the War

Department was noted for wisdom and a real knowledge of the subject. He was offered the appointment of Superintendent of the Northern Indians in 1790, but declined it. Not long afterwards he also declined the appointment of Quartermaster of the Western Army.

In August, 1791, he was appointed Postmaster-General by Washington. He conducted this office with notable energy, greatly extending its operations and shortening the time of carrying the mails until January 2d, 1795, when he succeeded General Knox as Secretary of War. His thorough knowledge of the army and of Indian affairs enabled him at once to direct the multiform concerns of the Department with intelligence, and he was a man who never for a moment lacked in vigorous energy. He also hastened forward measures for the completion of the men-of-war whose construction had been instituted under the direction of General Knox. He strongly advocated establishing a military academy at West Point. He increased the importance of Springfield as a manufacture of arms and aided in the establishment of an arsenal at Harper's Ferry, which was, however, from the beginning, a pet measure of Washington's. He constantly advocated the maintenance of a considerable but not very large regular army as necessary for the frontier and as an intelligent and efficient nucleus about which to rally an army of volunteers in case of foreign war.

In August, 1795, the famous intrigue between Mr. Randolph, Secretary of State, and the French Minister Fauchet became known to the President. Upon the resignation of Randolph soon afterwards, Colonel

Pickering was appointed acting Secretary of State, and as such discharged the duties of that office as well as those of Secretary of War for more than three months. Washington later offered the State department to Pickering, but he declined. He was at length persuaded to accept, however, and was appointed and confirmed in December. He also continued for some time to direct the affairs of the War Department, Mr. McHenry not taking charge thereof until the latter part of January, 1796. Indeed, he continued to be consulted by the military committees of Congress with regard to army matters generally and Indian and naval affairs particularly throughout the then current session of Congress.

Colonel Pickering accepted the office of Secretary of State with great diffidence, saying that he was a man of business, not a student, and that he had given no special attention for many years to the study of law. He soon learned, however, that the general duties of his new office were less onerous than those of the War Department. The period during which he was Secretary of State — the latter part of Washington's administration and nearly the whole of that of John Adams — was one of even unusual partisan rancour in the country. Even the character of Washington did not escape the grossest aspersions. Moreover, the principal partisan disputes of the time grew out of questions connected with our foreign relations, notably Jay's treaty and the delicate and difficult situation in which our government stood with regard to France. The doctrine of American neutrality in European affairs was at this time definitively proclaimed, though not without powerful oppo-

sition, and has ever since been the established policy of the republic. We were for a considerable period on the verge of war with France. From the many and great difficulties of the situation the new government successfully emerged. Throughout all, Colonel Pickering was a prominent character, and it is now generally agreed that his management of our foreign affairs was in the main wise and all the time energetic and patriotic. His outspoken nature was throughout this difficult crisis a benefit to his country. On May 10th, 1800, President Adams requested Colonel Pickering's resignation as Secretary of State, and desired a reply on the following Monday. On that day (May 12) Pickering sent a formal communication to the President with regard to a consular appointment, and later a note concluding: "After deliberately reflecting on the overture you have been pleased to make to me, I do not feel it to be my duty to resign." Within an hour he received a brief note from the President concluding: "You are hereby discharged from any further service as Secretary of State." There was no reason assigned for the dismissal at the time, and the action of President Adams in the matter has ever since remained a matter of dispute. The truth would appear to be that President Adams learned of his sympathizing with General Hamilton's intrigues against the Executive, and very properly dismissed him.

Colonel Pickering left office poor; so poor that he had to remove one of his sons from an academy. He had a large tract of land in the north-eastern part of Pennsylvania. Taking his family to Easton, he proceeded to these lands, and building log huts for

himself and laborers, went personally to work cutting down timber and making a farm. During the fall and early spring he had cleared and ready for crops about thirty acres, which were at once placed under cultivation. In the spring of 1801, he visited Massachusetts, and while at Salem old friends clubbed together and bought enough of his Pennsylvania lands to amount to $25,000 cash. With this he was enabled to pay his debts and have about $15,000 remaining. Returning to Pennsylvania, he arranged for his sons to go on with the farm, and in the following November removed with his family to Salem. He bought a farm in Essex county, and during the remainder of his life was a citizen of Massachusetts. In the following year he was made chief justice of the Essex county Court of Common Pleas. In 1803 he was elected a member of the United States Senate and remained a prominent and influential member of that body until 1811. During the war with England he was a member of the Massachusetts Board of War, and in 1814 was elected a Representative in Congress, serving as such during 1815–17. He died at Salem January 29, 1829, at the venerable age of 83 years.

Timothy Pickering was in politics an ardent Federalist and for years a recognized leader of the party in the United States. He was not a great orator, but was a powerful writer and a sagacious politician. No more disinterested patriot ever lived. In manners he was somewhat stern, and always perfectly outspoken, but in conversation with those whom he well knew he has had few equals among American public men. In person, he was tall and fine looking, with a Roman cast of countenance suggesting his inflexible will.

HON. JAMES McHENRY,

SECRETARY OF WAR.

JAMES McHENRY was born in Ballymena, county Antrim, November 16, 1753. His father was engaged in business and gave the son a liberal education. He was attending Dublin University when in the year 1771 he took a voyage to the South, landing at Baltimore. He became pleased with America in general and Maryland in particular that he wrote to his father urging him to come to this country. The latter followed and Daniel McHenry soon became a prosperous trader in Lovely Lane, Baltimore. James McHenry was at Newark Academy, Delaware, when at school, but whether engaged as student or teacher is not known. Not long after this we find him engaged studying medicine with the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia. McHenry was a favorite student with Dr. Rush, an ardent patriot, who watched the opening stages of the revolution. He warmly sympathized with the patriot cause. He also, through Dr. Rush, became personally acquainted with Washington and formed a lofty admiration for him which increased with years. In the early part of the year 1775, he set out for Cambridge "to serve," as he stated in an informal will drawn up at the time, "as a volunteer or surgeon in the American army raised by order of the Continental Congress to defend the

liberties of Americans and mankind against the enemies of both." Dr. McHenry was evidently a man of great common sense, for in this same will he directed that all his poetry "and other rude sketches" should be burnt. He served as an assistant surgeon in the army at Cambridge. In August, 1776, he was commissioned by Congress surgeon of the Fifth Pennsylvania battalion. He was present at the battle of Long Island and rendered valuable service in the retreat. He was engaged in the performance of his duties as surgeon at Fort Washington when that work was captured by the British in November, and became, of course, a prisoner. He was paroled in January, 1777, but was not exchanged until March of the following year. On May 15, he was appointed Secretary to General Washington, and from this time until the death of the General was among his confidential friends. Dr. McHenry remained in Washington's military family as secretary and aide-de-camp until August, 1780, when he was transferred to the staff of General La Fayette where he served until the close of the war. It was one of the open secrets of the time that Washington brought about this arrangement because he knew McHenry to be admirably calculated to regulate and wisely direct the youthful ardor of the impetuous Frenchman. It would appear that McHenry herein finely vindicated the judgment of the commander-in-chief. In this employment McHenry had the rank of Major. La Fayette on many occasions acknowledged the great services rendered him by McHenry not only in the field but in other matters. Years afterwards, when the Marquis was confined a close prisoner at Olmutz,

McHenry warmly interceded in his behalf with our government, and actually for once in his life asked office, namely, a special mission to Vienna in the interest of America's great friend in the war of the revolution. But nothing came of it. When La Fayette visited Baltimore in his American tour of 1824, he first landed at Fort McHenry, named in honor of his early friend, and in his reply to the address of welcome touchingly alluded to the confidential friend of his military family "of whom this fort, most nobly defended in the last war, brought back the affecting recollection."

In September, 1781, while he was still on the staff of La Fayette, McHenry was elected to the Maryland Senate. He held that office until 1786 when he resigned. In 1783 he was appointed a delegate to Congress in place of Edward Giles, deceased, and was elected to the same office by the legislature a few months afterwards. He held this employment as well as that of State Senator till 1786, a double duty then quite common among men of influence. In the following year Dr. McHenry was chosen a delegate to the federal Constitutional convention. He advocated the adoption of the Constitution. In April, 1788, he was also a member of the State convention, called to pass upon the Constitution where his influence was potent for ratification notwithstanding the opposition of Luther Martin and other able men of the State. When Washington passed through Baltimore in May, 1789, on his way to New York to institute the new government, McHenry was one of the committee of reception, as he had been some years before at Annapolis a member of the committee

of Congress to make appropriate arrangements for the order of Washington's audience on the occasion of his resigning his commission. In 1789 McHenry was elected a delegate to the general assembly, and two years afterwards he was again elected to the Senate for the term of five years. This office he resigned to accept that of Secretary of War to which he was appointed by Washington in January, 1796. He remained in charge of the Department during the remainder of Washington's administration and until May, 1800, when at the request of President Adams he resigned.

During the first two years of McHenry's charge of the War Department he also had charge of the Navy, and therein did valuable service. Under the first three Secretaries of War — Knox, Pickering, and McHenry — the American navy was successfully founded. During the latter part of McHenry's administration of the Department we were on the ragged edge of war with France. The enrolment and organization of a large army were authorized by law. Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief, and he demanded that Alexander Hamilton should be second in command. This was contrary to the judgment of President Adams, who thought the man should be General Knox. On this point it would appear that Adams was for once in the right. Knox was a soldier of marked abilities, intelligence, and spirit; Hamilton was the most unscrupulous political intriguer our country has ever had, not even excepting the man who did so much to almost deify his reputation by killing him in a duel, Aaron Burr. Washington insisted, and Adams yielded the point.

This exhibition of magnanimity should have utterly destroyed Hamilton's malevolence toward Adams; it only increased it. Hamilton being the principal person in this little drama, there was, of course, a great deal of intrigue in the business with which the President became thoroughly disgusted. There hence sprang up disagreements in the cabinet, which, aided by other topics on which there was difference of opinion, grew into open rupture. But meantime the war with France had been furiously waging — on paper. Washington must have consumed a ream of paper in writing letters to the Secretary of War, General Hamilton, and others on subjects connected with the impending conflict. McHenry often visited Washington at Mount Vernon, and was kept constantly active with warlike preparations. In the midst of all he was quite unceremoniously asked to resign, and did so. Out of all this, an historical quarrel has arisen between the adherents of Mr. Adams and those of General Hamilton. I judge that Mr. McHenry's conduct was honorable and fair throughout, but that by reason of his being too much under the fascinating, malign influence of Hamilton, President Adams very properly demanded his withdrawal from the cabinet. In his letter of resignation McHenry says: "Having discharged the duties of Secretary of War for upwards of four years with fidelity, unremitting assiduity, and to the best of my abilities, I leave behind me all the records of the Department, exhibiting the principles and manner of my official conduct, together with not a few difficulties I have had to encounter. To these written documents I cheerfully refer my reputation as an officer

and a man." Later, a committee of the House of Representatives, now strongly anti-Federal, was appointed to investigate the affairs of the Department under McHenry's administration. Two years after he had been out of office, this committee reported, charging his administration with certain irregularities and extravagant expenditures. To this report Mr. McHenry replied in a long letter to the Speaker of the House, replying to the charges *seriatim* and with an array of facts and figures which completely vindicated his conduct and established the frivolous and malevolent nature of the charges. A more spirited paper has seldom been read in Congress. It demolished the Report so completely that nothing more was ever heard of it.

After this Mr. McHenry lived in retirement, always dispensing a generous hospitality, on his fine estate in the then suburbs of Baltimore. He opposed the policy of the war of 1812 but took no public part in the discussions of the times. He died May 3d, 1816.

Dr. McHenry was a man of wide information and of respectable talents but not of great abilities. In the discharge of his public duties he was always faithful and industrious. In private life he was pure and loved and respected to a remarkable degree. Maryland has given many, very many, illustrious men to our country, but not one entitled to a warmer regard in the hearts of his countrymen on account of upright private life and faithful public service than James McHenry.

HON. SAMUEL DEXTER,

FOURTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

ON the removal of Mr. McHenry from the head of the War Department, the appointment was offered to John Marshall, of Virginia, afterwards the illustrious chief justice of the United States. He declined the office and the Hon. Samuel Dexter of Massachusetts was appointed, thus becoming the fourth Secretary of War under our constitutional government.

Samuel Dexter was born in Boston, May 14, 1761. His father was of the same name, was a distinguished patriot and learned scholar. He was a warm friend of education and the founder of a professorship at Harvard University which still bears his name. The son had every advantage of early mental training by the best teachers, and was graduated at Harvard at the age of twenty years with the first honors of the class. He studied law at Worcester with the celebrated Levi Lincoln, afterwards Attorney-General of the United States. He had a genius for the law and studied with so much assiduity as to seriously injure his eye-sight for a time. He first opened an office in the town of Lunenburg, Worcester county, but not long afterwards removed to Middlesex, where he soon acquired an extensive and lucrative practice. He soon also became prominent in politics and was elected to the legislature. In 1792 he

was elected a member of Congress where he served with distinction during 1793–95. Returning to Massachusetts he resumed the practice of his profession at Boston, being now a recognized leader of the bar of his State, noted for the power of his eloquence before juries and the strength and clearness of his argumentation before courts. In the spring of 1799 he was returned to the United States Senate, and he remained an eminent member of that body, and confessedly its most eloquent orator, until he became Secretary of War in May of the following year. On the death of Washington, in December, 1799, the Senate ordered a letter to be addressed to the President in respect to his memory and character. This historical and well known paper was written by Mr. Dexter. Herein occurs the phrase: "On this occasion it is manly to weep." And these: "Ancient and modern times are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant."

Like Calhoun, Stanton, McCrary, and some other statesmen who have been Secretaries of War, Mr. Dexter took charge of the Department without having specially studied its affairs. As in those instances, his genius and industry enabled him speedily to become perfect master of the situation, and to successfully conduct the affairs of the Department during a grave crisis in our country's history. For we were still on the verge of war with France.

Early in 1801 he became Secretary of the Treasury, and remained such during the rest of the administration of Adams and for a little over a year under Mr. Jefferson, when he was succeeded by Albert

Gallatin. During a considerable absence of the Secretary of State, Mr. Dexter also conducted the affairs of that Department. After his retirement from the Treasury Department he held no other public office. In 1815, President Madison offered him a highly important extraordinary mission to the court of Spain, but he declined it.

From the time of his retirement from office, Mr. Dexter mainly devoted himself to his practice, which was very extensive, particularly in the Supreme Court of the United States, where for a considerable period he was without a superior, the only person for whom a just rivalry with him in power before the court could be claimed being the distinguished William Pinkney of Maryland.

Up to the last war with England Mr. Dexter had always been a member of the Federal party, though he never was at any time a bitter partisan. Upon the declaration of war, he left that party and joined the Republicans, but without giving up, as he insisted, his Federal opinions. The Republican party being in power and the country at war, he did not think it patriotic to be in opposition, — a rational opinion, which his experience as head of the War Department had doubtless contributed to form. For his course herein he was censured by the party press of the Federalists, but the criticisms did not at all disturb his serenity. In 1815 he was the candidate of the Republicans for Governor of Massachusetts, and was defeated. In the following year he was again nominated. During the canvass, he made a visit to a son who was just then establishing himself in life at the village of Athens, New York, and was there attacked

by the same disease of which Washington had died. Mr. Dexter succumbed in a very short time, expiring on the 3d day of May.

Few of America's public men are entitled to have their memories cherished with more genuine respect than Samuel Dexter. He was a man of great genius and of exalted character. His powers of oratory were wonderfully grand and wonderfully versatile. The country has never had a greater advocate. His practical executive abilities were shown to be superior by his successful discharge of the duties of the three greatest departments of the government. In a great crisis of the republic he demonstrated the purity and the power of his patriotism by preferring country to party. His private life was exemplary. He is entitled to high credit and lasting renown for being the first president of the first society ever organized in the United States in behalf of the cause of Temperance, a society which he himself instituted, and for which he ever earnestly labored. He was noted as an instructive and vivacious conversationalist. He was the author of several publications which had a very considerable temporary celebrity.

GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN,

FIFTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

HENRY DEARBORN was born at North Hampton, New Hampshire, February 23, 1751. Having received a liberal education and taken a thorough course of study in medicine and surgery under the then celebrated Dr. Hall Jackson of Portsmouth, he entered upon the practice of his profession in 1772 at Nottingham Square. Convinced that the liberties of his country must ere long be defended at the point of the sword, he organized a military company and gave much attention to military studies and exercises. On April 20, 1775, hearing of the battle of Lexington and Concord, he marched his company to Cambridge, a distance of about sixty miles within twenty-four hours. After remaining a few days Dearborn returned with his command. He was appointed Captain in the First New Hampshire regiment, Colonel John Stark, and speedily enlisted a company with which he joined the regiment at Medford, near Boston, May 15. He was distinguished at the battle of Bunker Hill where Colonel Stark's regiment held the line of rail fence and successfully protected the retreat of the Americans. Captain Dearborn held the right of the regiment and personally fought with a fusee during the battle. In the following autumn he accompanied Arnold on the expedition against Quebec. Thirty-two days during the cold

months of November and December were employed on the march through the wilderness between the settlements on the Kennebec and Chaudiere Rivers. There was terrible suffering. Many men were frozen or starved to death. Dearborn divided his favorite dog with comrades to be used as food. On reaching the Chaudiere he was taken sick and could go no further. Cheering on his men he was received into a poor hut where there were hardly the ordinary necessaries of life and no medicines. For ten days he suffered great agony; but his strong constitution at length obtained a victory, and he was able to join the army in time for the memorable assault on Quebec. He was attached to the corps under Arnold which fought gallantly and was captured. The officers were placed in rigid confinement and in other respects were treated with indignity. In May, 1776, Dearborn was paroled and proceeded to Portland by way of Halifax. In March, 1777, he was exchanged. He was now appointed major of the Third New Hampshire regiment, Alexander Scammel colonel. The regiment joined the northern army at Ticonderoga early in May, and participated in all the operations of the campaign which closed with the surrender of Burgoyne. At the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga Major Dearborn was especially distinguished. In 1778, now having the rank of lieutenant-colonel, Dearborn served with the main army in the Jerseys. On the hot field of Monmouth he behaved with conspicuous gallantry and effect. Having repulsed an attack of the enemy and driven him in rout from that part of the field, Dearborn approached Washington commanding in

person, for further orders. "What troops are those?" inquired the General. "Full-blooded Yankees from New Hampshire, sir," replied Dearborn with a salute. Washington expressed approbation of their conduct and highly complimented them in general orders of the next day. In 1779 Dearborn accompanied General Sullivan in the expedition against the Six Nations and participated in the battle of Newtown, August 29, in which the Indians under Brant and the Tories under Sir John Johnson were summarily punished. In the following year he was with the main army in New Jersey. In 1781 he was appointed deputy quartermaster-general and served as such on the staff of Washington till after the surrender of Cornwallis. Colonel Scammel being killed in the siege of Yorktown, Dearborn was appointed colonel of the regiment and served in that capacity until the close of the war.

In 1784 Colonel Dearborn removed to the district of Maine. A few years later he was appointed a brigadier- and a major-general of militia in quick succession. He took an active part in affairs and was twice elected to represent the Kennebec district in Congress. He was also for some time marshal of the district of Maine, receiving his appointment in 1790 from Washington.

After the close of the administration of President Washington, the people of the country began to form themselves into two distinct parties with opposing political dogmas. These organizations gradually came to be known as the Federal and the Republican party respectively, Mr. Jefferson being the undoubted leader of the latter, leadership in the former

being disputed by the adherents of John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and others. General Dearborn cast his fortunes with the party of Jefferson, and was regarded as a leading representative man of the old Republicans in New England for many years. On the accession of Jefferson to the presidency, March, 1801, General Dearborn was appointed Secretary of War and remained at the head of the Department for eight years. He was a thoroughly intelligent, honest, and energetic Secretary.

On his retirement from the War Department General Dearborn accepted the office of collector of the port, Boston, a position of large political influence and profit. This office he held until his appointment as senior major-general in the United States Army, January, 1812. He was placed in command of the Northern Department. The surrender of Hull and the unfortunate affairs on the Niagara in the summer and fall of this year had a depressing effect upon the people; but the capture of York, now Toronto, Canada, in April and of Fort George on the Niagara in May, by Dearborn, restored the national spirits. He was about to carry out a plan for the capture of Kingston when he was relieved of command. The order relieving him simply stated that he was relieved "on account of ill health." He demanded a court of inquiry, and persisted in the demand, but in vain, and the matter has ever since been a subject of much debate. The truth would appear to be that the order relieving the General was the result of a political intrigue. President Madison was a profoundly thoughtful statesman and most amiable man. His writings are admirable studies for statesmen,

evincing uncommon powers of original reflection and strength of reasoning. He will forever retain the admiring regard of all his intelligent countrymen, and it is hardly possible that the time will ever come when the influence of his mind will not be considerable in American affairs. Nevertheless, this great statesman and pure man was a poor war President. And singularly enough, as it may seem to some, this fact was due to good rather than to faulty qualities in his character. He had so much of the milk of human kindness in his nature that it was impossible for him to be a good hater. It is impossible for a man to be a first-rate war President without this faculty. It was right here that President Lincoln at first failed and continued to fail until terrible experience taught even him — "the kindest heart that ever beat" — to become a good hater. This lesson Mr. Madison never learned, and was under the influence of intriguers more than he knew. General Dearborn was surely among the most influential of Northern Republicans. For eight years he had shared the confidence of Mr. Jefferson. His revolutionary history was fairly heroic. In the beginning of the campaign of 1813 he conducted the war in his theatre with great energy and success. A campaign or two like that would be likely to wrest the leadership of the party from those to whom it had, so to say, been assigned by the powers, and transfer it to others. This the summary decapitation of General Dearborn prevented. He was permitted to remain in a sort of situation of disgrace, without inquiry and without explanation. Afterwards, President Madison nominated him Secretary of War. He was rejected by

the Senate. After the rejection, President Madison explained the matter fully to a number of Senators when they all averred that had the facts been known General Dearborn would have been unanimously confirmed. The power behind the throne which prevented Madison from giving this information before action by the Senate was the same as that which relieved General Dearborn in the first instance. I am convinced that the masterly strategy of Mr. Monroe in this business has never been surpassed if it has been equalled.

However all this may be, General Dearborn, still demanding a court of inquiry, was assigned to the command of the district of New York, with headquarters in the city, threatened, as was supposed by the enemy. He remained in this command until the close of the war. After the war he settled upon his estates at Roxbury, near Boston. He was once or twice the candidate of the Republicans for Governor of Massachusetts but was defeated. From May, 1822 until 1824, when he resigned, he was Minister to Portugal. Returning to his home in Massachusetts he remained in retirement until his death, June 6, 1829.

General Dearborn was a clear and forcible writer. About the year 1818 he published an article in a magazine of the time on the battle of Bunker Hill, in which he undertook to demonstrate that General Putnam was not at all engaged at the front at that battle. The article created a notable sensation, quite a new "battle of the books," and has left the point in some dispute ever since. Other writings of his — accounts of some of his military campaigns — are

published in his Life by his son Henry A. C. Dearborn, who was also a man of note.

General Dearborn was a man of impressive presence, tall and fine looking. He invariably won the cordial respect of all who became acquainted with. him. No word in challenge of his perfect integrity was ever uttered.

HON. WILLIAM EUSTIS,

SIXTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

UPON the accession of President Madison, General Dearborn was appointed collector of the port of Boston and Hon. William Eustis, of Massachusetts, was made Secretary of War.

He was born in Cambridge, July 10, 1753. He received a thorough education, graduating at Harvard University in 1772. Adopting medicine as his profession he studied with the famous Dr. Joseph Warren, who was slain at the battle of Bunker Hill. He served during the revolutionary war as a surgeon in the army. For some years he was stationed at the house of Beverly Robinson, opposite West Point, where Arnold had his headquarters. After the war he engaged in the practice of his profession. He was for several years a member of the Massachusetts legislature, and for two years a member of Governor Sullivan's Council. In 1800 he was elected a Representative in Congress and was reëlected two years afterwards. Becoming Secretary of War in March, 1809, at a time when our difficulties with Great Britain were strongly tending toward open war, he remained in charge of the Department until intelligence of Hull's surrender of Detroit was received, when he resigned in feelings of chagrin because of that calamitous event. In 1814 he was appointed Minister to the Netherlands and occupied

that office until the summer of 1818, when at his own request he was recalled. Two years afterwards he again entered public life and was elected a member of Congress, serving until 1823. In that year he was elected Governor of Massachusetts and was reëlected in the following year. He died while in that office, February 6, 1825, having attained the age of 72 years.

Mr. Eustis was distinguished for frankness of disposition and decision of character. It is doubtful whether any surgeon in the army of the revolutionary war had more influence in military circles than he. He was fond of army life, and being appointed surgeon-general of General Lincoln's forces to suppress Shays's insurrection, became generally known as "the fighting doctor." In the many public positions he filled he conducted himself with credit but not with brilliancy. In private life he was without stain and without reproach.

GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG,

SEVENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG, of New York, who became Secretary of War in January, 1813, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was born at Carlisle in that State, November 25, 1758. His early mental training was good, and he was a student at Princeton college when, in 1775, he volunteered in a Pennsylvania regiment and from that time forth until the close of the war was actively engaged in military duty. He served as aide-de-camp to General Mercer, until his death from wounds received at the battle of Princeton, and afterwards in the same capacity with General Gates, having the rank of Major. He was with Gates during the campaign of Saratoga and was actively and gallantly engaged in the operations which resulted in the capitulation of the whole British army under Burgoyne.

After the virtual close of the war by the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the principal body of American troops, it is well known, remained in the vicinity of West Point for a considerable period. There was great and general complaint in the army — and it was also uncommonly just — on account of arrearages of pay, and the fear that the war would be finally closed without a settlement of accounts. This great trouble, with its imminent threatened danger to the country is historical. The

threatening attitude of the army, in the apparent neglect of Congress, is equally well known. In this situation the celebrated "Newburgh Letters," setting forth the services and destitution of the army and urging aggressive measures of relief, appeared. They were written with great power and eloquence, and in truth almost persuaded the army to march against Congress. The difficulty was happily surmounted, as we have seen in the life of General Knox, by the patriotism and eloquence of Washington. Major Armstrong was the author of the "Newburgh Letters." Speaking of them in a letter, January 23, 1797, nearly fifteen years after their appearance, Washington said: "I have since had sufficient reason for believing that the object of the author was just, honorable, and friendly to the country, though the means suggested by him were certainly liable to much misunderstanding and abuse." This is the verdict of history.

After the war Major Armstrong became Secretary of State and also Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania. In 1784 he conducted a vigorous campaign against the disturbers of the peace in the Wyoming valley, which was followed by the civil organization of that territory and its eventual quiet, after much disturbance, as related in the life of Colonel Pickering.

In 1789 Armstrong removed to the State of New York and for several years engaged in agriculture. In 1800 he was elected to the United States Senate and served in that body for four years gaining no little distinction. He then resigned to accept the office of Minister to France offered him by President Jefferson, and to which he was formally ap-

pointed in June, 1804. In March, 1806, he and James Bowdoin of Massachusetts were appointed Commissioners Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to treat with Spain concerning territories and matters of dispute between that kingdom and the United States. The Commissioners conducted negotiations at Paris, but they amounted to nothing. Armstrong returned to America in 1810. In July, 1812, he was commissioned a brigadier-general in the United States Army, but without having had opportunity for much service in the field he was appointed Secretary of War in January, 1813, Mr. Eustis having resigned. This office General Armstrong conducted with exceptional energy and good sense, effecting not a few salutary changes in the organization of the army. The sack of Washington, however, and ill fortune in the Canada campaign produced a popular clamor against him, and, like Eustis, he escaped to the wilderness of private life, carrying the sins of others on his shoulders. From this time he lived in retirement on his estates in New York, with the exception of a considerable period that he spent in Maryland. Though in retirement he lived not in idleness or ease. His vigorous pen was kept well at work, and he wrote a fine, pugnacious Review of General Wilkinson's Memoirs, a brief but first-rate "History of the War of 1812," and lives of Generals Montgomery and Wayne. These latter are included in Sparks's "American Biography." He had also written a "History of the American Revolution" which was nearly ready for publication when a fire which destroyed his home consumed also the manuscripts

of this work. He died April 1, 1843, at the venerable age of 85 years.

There have been few more able Secretaries of War than General Armstrong. He was thoroughly acquainted with the art of war and with the organization of our own army. He took charge of the Department at a time when by a series of accidents, or a run of general ill luck, military matters were at loose ends. He at once greatly improved the situation and placed matters in such train as eventually led to the organization of victory for the American cause; but this did not come until some time after he was compelled by public clamor to retire from the Department, the second Secretary of War made the scapegoat of military inefficiency and worse during the last war with England. General Armstrong was a powerful and an exceedingly caustic writer. As a soldier he was brave and efficient, as a Senator sagacious and laborious, as an executive officer notably intelligent and energetic. In private life he was greatly esteemed and loved by those who knew him well, though a certain pugnacity of manner and expression caused him to be much misunderstood by strangers. The "Newburgh Addresses" were for a time much misinterpreted and Armstrong as their author was charged with being unpatriotic. In truth, these eloquent essays were unanswerable appeals in behalf of common honesty to the army on the part of the government, apparently criminally careless of its duty in that regard. They saved the army, through arousing Washington, Knox, and others, to superhuman exertions, from most unjust treatment and the government from descending into a situation of

inexpressible disgrace. Hence I think that though General Armstrong rendered his country much valuable service, he is entitled to the highest credit of all on account of the "Newburgh Addresses," they in reality accomplishing the most good of all.

JAMES MONROE,

EIGHTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

ON the resignation of General Armstrong after the sack of Washington, James Monroe, Secretary of State, was, under a general law authorizing the President to select one member of the cabinet to take charge for the time being of another Department, designated as Secretary of War. As Mr. Monroe virtually abdicated the Department of State to take charge of that of War at an imminent crisis in our history and for a considerable period gave his main attention and labors to the latter Department to the great benefit of the country and to the salvation of the administration, as I think, from deserved general opprobrium, I have thought it but simple justice to place him among the regular Secretaries of War. It is certain that no head of the Department ever in the same period performed greater or more difficult labors or accomplished more good results than Mr. Monroe.

His life is historical, and I need only give here a brief outline of it. He was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 28, 1758. His early intellectual training was excellent, and he was graduated from William and Mary College at the age of eighteen years. He immediately joined the patriot army. He took part in the battles of Harlem and White Plains. At the battle of Trenton he was distinguished for gallant conduct and was severely

wounded. He was promoted to a captaincy on account of bravery at Trenton. During the years 1777–78 he acted as aide to Lord Stirling and was conspicuous for gallantry at the battles of the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. He was personally thanked for bravery by Washington on the field of Monmouth. Not long after this he retired from the army and studied law with Jefferson who was at the time Governor of Virginia. When the State was invaded, Monroe again performed valuable military services. He became Military Commissioner of Virginia and in this capacity visited the Southern army under De Kalb spending some months of the year 1780 in the South. Two years after this he was a member of the legislature and immediately thereafter one of the executive council of the State. From 1783 to 1786 he was a delegate in Congress, in the latter year becoming again a member of the legislature. In 1788 he was a member of the convention which had been called to take action upon the federal constitution of 1787. It is well known that there was a strong party in Virginia, led by very able men, opposed to ratifying the constitution mainly on the ground that it conferred too much power upon the central government. One of the leaders in this party was Mr. Monroe himself who in the convention took an active part in opposition to the ratification of the constitution of which in later years he became one of the most illustrious friends and expounders. In 1790 he was elected to the United States Senate and remained a member of that body until he was appointed Minister to France in May, 1794. In the

Senate, Mr. Monroe was hostile to the administration of Washington differing with some of its policy in point of principle. When he arrived at Paris as our Minister Plenipotentiary the situation was one of great reaction. Robespierre was no more; the reign of terror was at an end. Mr. Monroe was publicly received by the National Convention, and the speech he made on the occasion expressed sentiments so completely in harmony with the feelings of the time that he was publicly embraced by the President of the Convention, and it was at once decreed that the American and French flags should be entwined and hung up in the chamber of the Convention in sign of the union and friendship of the two republics. Monroe presented the American flag to the Convention in the name of his country. It was received with enthusiasm and a decree instantly passed causing the national flag of France to be transmitted to the government of the United States. During his stay in Paris Mr. Monroe continued to be greatly popular with government and people. But his course was not approved by the government of the United States. Upon his appointment he had been fully instructed to explain the views and conduct of the United States in forming the treaty with England of which France complained. That he might do so successfully he had been amply supplied with documents on the subject. These he neglected or declined to use, and the jealous ill feeling of France toward our government increased. Mr. Monroe, on the 22d of August, 1796, was recalled. On taking his leave in the following December Mr. Monroe was addressed by Mr. Barras, Presi-

dent of the Directory, in terms highly complimentary to the Minister about to depart but insulting to his country. It would have been only manly and patriotic in Mr. Monroe to have resented this insult instead of quietly acquiescing in it. On his return to the United States he published a vindication of his course as Minister to France, which, with the accompanying correspondence, made a large volume and which amply sustained the wisdom and uprightness of his general conduct.

Governor of Virginia from 1799 to 1802 he exhibited in that office those great executive abilities which were afterwards so conspicuously shown at the head of the War Department and at the head of the Nation. He also manifested those views in behalf of the rights of the States of which he later became so distinguished an expounder.

Very early in 1803, Mr. Monroe was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to treat jointly and separately with Robert R. Livingston, Minister Plenipotentiary, with the government of France concerning the rights and interests of the United States in the Mississippi River and in the territories westward thereof. The practical result of this mission was the purchase of Louisiana, being that vast expanse of territory belonging to the United States west of the Mississippi except the portions acquired by the annexation of Texas and the war with, Mexico. Mr. Monroe remained abroad being appointed Minister to England. In 1805 he was associated with Charles C. Pinckney in the negotiation of a treaty with Spain by which we acquired considerable Spanish territory. Two years later, as-

sociated with him being William Pinkney, he negotiated an elaborate commercial treaty with Great Britain, but President Jefferson refused to submit it to the Senate because it did not provide against impressments. In the autumn of 1807 Mr. Monroe returned to the United States. In 1810 he was again elected to the Virginia Assembly, and was also again Governor of the State till November, 1811, when he became Secretary of State in the cabinet of President Madison. His natural abilities and his large diplomatic experience enabled him to discharge the duties of this office with exceptional success. He was promoted therefrom to the Presidency. But meanwhile, from the fall of Washington to the spring of 1815, when peace had been restored to the country, he had charge of the War Department. He put into the conduct of its affairs wonderful energy and organized victory for his country.

As President of the United States Mr. Monroe justly earned and actually received the love and respect of his countrymen universally. At his first election in 1816, he received 183 electoral votes to 34 for Rufus King; at his second election in 1820 he received all the electoral votes cast except one. Every administration before his had been less or more stormy. Though Washington was unanimously reëlected, the fact was due more to respect for his lofty character and gratitude for his sublime services during the revolution than to approval of his policy. John Adams was fiercely assailed during his whole term and badly beaten at the end of it. Mr. Jefferson's embargo measures aroused great opposition in many parts of the country. Mr. Madison's amia-

bility and genius for intrigue caused him to be, as we have seen, a very poor war President indeed. He constantly received severest criticism from intelligent and patriotic men. Mr. Monroe entered into the chief executive office at an auspicious time. Peace had been restored; the party opposed to that which he represented had become almost insignificant in the number of its adherents; several grave questions of constitutional construction had been definitely settled; general prosperity was resuming its healthful sway over the country. The President had the statesmanlike genius to take the best advantage of this favorable situation of affairs and to inaugurate a general sentiment of harmony among the people which resulted in the historical "Era of Good Feeling." This he accomplished hardly more by his general policy with regard to foreign and domestic affairs than by his personal efforts in that behalf. In the summer and autumn after his inauguration, he made an extensive tour, going as far east as Portland and as far west as Detroit, and being received everywhere with kindness addressed the people in such way as to give him a wonderful personal popularity. They came to look upon him and to love him as a friend. During his administration the army and navy were strengthened; Florida was ceded to the United States; the independence of the South American states was recognized; the famous "Monroe doctrine" was proclaimed, announcing that European interference in American states would not be tolerated; pensions to revolutionary soldiers were granted; vigorous efforts against the slave trade were put forth; the national debt was steadily diminished.

On his retirement from the Presidency with the universal good will of the people, Mr. Monroe took up his residence in Loudon county, Virginia, where he lived in dignified retirement until the death of Mrs. Monroe in September, 1830. Soon after this he removed to New York city and there resided with a son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur. He there died July 4, 1831, being the third ex-President whose life was closed on the anniversary of our Declaration of Independence.

Among all our Presidents, Mr. Monroe was, perhaps, the most personally popular among the general masses of his countrymen. A man of solid though not brilliant understanding, he received the cordial respect of most public men of his time and did not excite their jealousy. While a person of very positive character and very positive convictions, he was one of the mildest-mannered men who ever lived. He is one of the very finest examples in all history of the wisdom of catching flies with honey, not vinegar. As an adroit political manipulator, he has probably never had an equal among the public men of the United States. He had this capacity not only with respect to directing the political action of the general body politic (wherein lay Jefferson's great power); but in the details of party and personal affairs. The instances of his "wire-pulling" in the interest of his own ambition are many, and some of them would now be characterized as belonging to immoral politics. But very few of these were known as his performances at the time, and have not since been discovered as his by any of our historians or biographers. Of large abilities generally, Mr. Mon-

roe was greatest as a political intriguer. With less ability than many other of our public men, than several of our Presidents, he yet so conducted the affairs of the government as to confer great and lasting benefits upon his country and to heighten its renown and power among the nations of the earth, and to leave a name which for downright practical statesmanship is superior to that of almost any other of our chief magistrates. In private life this great practical statesman was amiable, interesting, and humorous. His native State erected a handsome and elegant monument with a fine statue to his memory in the beautiful cemetery near the city of Richmond. An unanswerable proof of the strong hold Mr. Monroe gained over the hearts and in the memory of his countrymen is in the fact that visitors from all parts of the land to that consecrated ground always uncover before his tomb and speak with respectful affection of the statesman who brought on "the Era of Good Feeling" in America.

HON. WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD,

NINTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE greatest man the Southern part of our republic has produced, excepting only Washington, Marshall, and Calhoun, is William H. Crawford. After the close of the war with England, Mr. Monroe retired from control of the War Department and resumed the conduct of the Department of State, whereupon William H. Crawford, of Georgia, was appointed Secretary of War. This was in March, 1815, and he remained at the head of the Department till the close of President Madison's administration.

This seems to be a fitting place to remark that several candidates for President have filled the office of Secretary of War. Mr. Monroe was not only a candidate for our highest office, but twice elected thereto. In the notable presidential contest of 1824, there were at first, as we shall presently particularly note, no less than five candidates, of whom Calhoun and Crawford had been Secretaries of War. General Cass, who was the Democratic candidate for President in 1848, had been Secretary of War under Jackson; and John Bell, of Tennessee, Secretary of War under Harrison and for a short time under Tyler, was a candidate for President in 1860. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War under Pierce, was President of the Southern Confederacy so long as that pretended government maintained its *de-facto* existence. Among

all these great men William H. Crawford was by large odds the greatest, excepting only Mr. Calhoun.

He was born in Virginia February 24, 1772. When he was 13 years of age his father removed to Georgia with his family. The son, who early gave evidence of extraordinary talents, received a thorough academical education, and on the death of his father in 1778 supported the family for some years by teaching. He then studied law, and entered upon the practice in Oglethorpe county in 1799. In the following year he was appointed with Horatio Marbury to revise the laws of Georgia. The revision was published in 1802. One of his biographers relates that about this time a conspiracy was formed to drive him from the bar, resulting in a duel between Mr. Crawford and a Mr. Van Allen, in which the latter was killed. Mr. Crawford rapidly rose to distinction in his profession. He was a member of the legislature from 1803 to 1807 in which latter year he was elected a member of the United States Senate and remained such till 1813 part of the time being President *pro tempore*. In this body of eminent men he soon became preëminent, acquiring leading position as well by the greatness and loftiness of his mind as by the perfect uprightness of his character, and personal and political integrity. He opposed the policy of war with England but, war being declared, heartily sustained the government. On the retirement of Mr. Eustis he was offered the appointment of Secretary of War, but declined it. He was then appointed (April, 1813) Minister to France and occupied that office about two years. While in Paris he became well acquainted with La Fayette,

and afterwards maintained a correspondence with him for many years. On his return to the United States he became Secretary of War, and remained such until the close of Mr. Madison's administration. During the administration of President Monroe, Mr. Crawford was Secretary of the Treasury. As finance minister he manifested large capacity in every respect and steadily reduced the public debt and improved the national credit during his entire administration of the Treasury Department.

The situation of political affairs during the last term of President Monroe was very remarkable. The Federal party had literally fallen to pieces, and the country was unanimously Republican. Monroe was elected President in 1820 unanimously, except that one man in New England voted for Mr. Adams, expressly saying it was simply because he "did not want to see the country too unanimous." This was the famous "era of good feeling" in our politics. Up to this time presidential nominations had been made by congressional caucuses, national conventions not being yet invented. The caucus had begun to be somewhat unsatisfactory to the people. By the regular caucus of the Republican party in 1824 Mr. Crawford was nominated for the presidency. But the caucus was not very largely attended, and its action was by many not considered binding. Moreover there was a general determination to break up the system of caucus nominations, which was done by overturning, about the very best action a caucus ever performed. In the early part of the canvass there were five candidates for President in the field — all Republicans — namely: John Quincy

Adams, Massachusetts; John C. Calhoun, South Carolina; Henry Clay, Kentucky; William H. Crawford, Georgia; and Andrew Jackson, Tennessee. Of these, no less than three were members of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, — Adams, Calhoun, and Crawford. During the summer, Mr. Calhoun withdrew his name and was very generally supported for Vice-President. The result, as is well known, was a failure of election in the electoral college and the choice of Mr. Adams by the House of Representatives voting by States in February, 1825. Mr. Crawford received the entire electoral vote of Virginia and Georgia, five from the State of New York, two from Delaware, and one from Maryland, in all forty-one votes. In the House of Representatives he received the vote of four States, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.

Upon his inauguration, President Adams proposed to Mr. Crawford that he should remain at the head of the Treasury Department, but he declined to do so. He soon returned to Georgia and in 1827 was appointed judge of the Northern Superior Court of that State. In the nullification agitation which soon afterwards occurred he took strong ground against the doctrines of Calhoun and sustained the Union with great ardor and influence. He died suddenly, September 15, 1834, a few miles from Elberton while on his way thither to preside over the court of which he was Judge.

William H. Crawford, the greatest and best of Georgia's public men, highly honored every public station to which he was called, and would have greatly honored the highest one in the republic

had he been called to fill it. Of his career in the Senate, the *National Intelligencer* of September 26, 1834, thus speaks: "Coming there young and comparatively unknown, and taking a seat in a body even then illustrious for talent and high character, he soon made himself known and respected by the force of natural ability, energy, and loftiness of mind. His speeches were remarkable for their strength, and his votes for their honesty and independence; and what procured for him probably more respect and general regard than any other quality, was his unconcealed disdain of everything like pretense, subterfuge, or the ordinary arts and tricks of mere party-men. Bold and fearless in his course, he was always to be found in the front of battle. He shunned no responsibility; he compromised no principle. If, indeed, he had a fault as a politician it was rather in contemning too haughtily the customs and seemings which form a part of the usages of those who mingle much in public affairs; preferring downright truth in all its simplicity, and all its nakedness too, to the circumlocution and periphrase of older and more practiced statesmen. His influence in the Senate soon became proportionate to the respect with which he impressed that body for his abilities, but more than all, for his perfect integrity and unflinching firmness. He became the acting President of that body at an earlier period after entering it than any other individual ever did within our knowledge; and in that station, which he filled with great dignity and propriety, discovered an aptitude for public business which strengthened the hold he already had upon the general regard and confidence." As he

thus ably and nobly began his national career he continued it to the end of his high and varied public employments. "In his domestic relations," says the same journal from which I have just quoted, "and in all the private relations of life, he enjoyed no less the love of his family and the affection of his friends, than in his public life he possessed their unbounded respect and confidence." In person, Mr. Crawford had an erect and manly figure; in manners he was chivalric and elegant; at all times and on all occasions he was entitled to "the grand old name of Gentleman."

JOHN C. CALHOUN,

TENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

WHEN Mr. Monroe became President, he appointed Governor Isaac Shelby Secretary of War. There could have been no appointment more eminently fit to be made. General Shelby had been greatly distinguished during the revolutionary war, serving with the Southern army; had been Governor of Kentucky; in the late war had been noted for efficiency in the raising of troops and gallantry in the field. But he declined the appointment, assigning as a reason his advanced age. He was at that time 67 years old, but lived nearly ten years longer. On intelligence of the declination of Governor Shelby, the President determined to appoint Mr. Calhoun to the position, but as he desired a few months of recreation the appointment was not made till the following winter. He was appointed in December, 1817. Meantime, the duties of the office were performed by Mr. George Graham, Chief Clerk of the Department, who was designated as acting Secretary by the President under a law of Congress authorizing him to do so. Soon after Mr. Calhoun took charge of the Department Mr. Graham resigned.

John Caldwell Calhoun was born in Abbeville district, South Carolina, March 18, 1782. His father, an Irishman by birth, was a revolutionary soldier and for many years was prominent in the affairs of South

Carolina. He gave his son every advantage of education. While a lad he was taught by the best tutors, and when prepared therefor entered Yale College and was graduated, with the first honors of the class, in 1804. He studied law at Litchfield, Connecticut, and in 1807 entered upon the practice at his native place. He rapidly rose to eminence at the bar, and in a very short time had an extended and lucrative practice. A born politician, he also soon became prominent in affairs. He was elected to the legislature within two years of his admission to the bar and occupied that office during two legislatures. In 1810 he was elected a Representative in Congress, taking his seat in December of the following year. Here his remarkable powers of debate and of forensic oratory generally soon gave him prominence and national fame. He was recognized as a leader of the Republican party and universally understood to be a "coming man." He ardently supported the policy of war with England and was largely influential in procuring the passage of the declaration of war. Mr. Calhoun remained a member of the House, all the time taking a leading part in the debates, until he took his seat in Mr. Monroe's cabinet as Secretary of War. He now justly had the reputation of a great statesman.

As Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun entered, so to say, upon an entirely unknown field of operations. Heretofore distinguished as a great orator, a powerful writer, a profound and subtle thinker, he was now to enter upon the discharge of duties which required large executive ability and great practicality. It is not too much to say that in this new sphere Mr. Cal-

houn had wonderful success. Among the many eminent men who have conducted the affairs of the War Department not one is entitled to greater praise for intelligence and efficiency than John C. Calhoun. He reorganized the Department, creating therein separate bureaux for the management of army administration and the conduct of the affairs of the Department. This organization remains substantially the same to this day. It greatly improved the efficiency of the Department and resulted in large economy to the government. He established the necessity of a considerable regular army and of a national military school or schools with unanswerable arguments. His management of Indian affairs was characterized by a thorough knowledge of the subject and by vigor. He believed in gradually enforcing Indians into the arts of civilization; opposed the doctrine of recognizing any or all of them as independent nations; demanded the abolition of the tribal relation and the substitution therefor of individual right and property. During Mr. Calhoun's administration of the Department many favorable treaties were made with Indians, both North and South, and garrisons and forts were established in the far North-west for protection against the savages of that locality whose ferocious nature — still about the same — was thoroughly well known to the South Carolina statesman. If the American Indians are to become civilized and assimilated with our nationality instead of being exterminated that great achievement of statesmanship and philanthropy must doubtless be wrought on substantially the plan suggested by Secretary of War Calhoun more than fifty years ago.

That is to say, briefly, the Indians must all be gathered into a few comparatively small reservations, disarmed, subsisted by the government, and forced by the military power to adopt the arts of civilization and its institutions. On this subject the statesmen of this generation may read the reports of Mr. Calhoun with interest and profit.

As we have seen in the life of Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun was one of five candidates for President in the early part of the political campaign of 1824, and that he withdrew being generally supported for the Vice-Presidency. In the electoral college Mr. Calhoun received 182 votes, while Nathan Sandford received 30, Nathaniel Macon 24, Andrew Jackson 13, Martin Van Buren 9, Henry Clay 2. In 1828, Mr. Calhoun was re-elected, receiving 171 votes, Richard Rush having 83, and William Smith 7. As presiding officer of the Senate Mr. Calhoun was generally dignified, impartial, and accurate; but at times when his feelings were greatly interested he overstepped the bounds of official propriety. One of these occasions was his interruption of Daniel Webster during the delivery of his celebrated speech in reply to Mr. Hayne. Mr. Webster good-naturedly retorted. Afterwards, for interrupting Senator Forsyth of Georgia Mr. Calhoun was severely rebuked for a violation of official etiquette. A few instances of this nature prevented Mr. Calhoun from being entitled to the reputation of a perfectly admirable, model presiding officer, which was a little later in the history of the Senate so fairly earned by Mr. Van Buren.

In 1831, the nullification excitement being at white heat Mr. Hayne resigned his seat in the Senate to

become Governor of South Carolina, and Mr. Calhoun, the recognized father of nullification, was elected to the seat. To take it, he resigned the office of Vice-President. He now had two wars on his hands, so to speak, a war with the country quite generally on the subject of nullification, and a war with Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, who never fought with gloves on. In this double contest Mr. Calhoun secured a powerful ally in a newspaper "organ," the *Telegraph*, of which the editor was the celebrated Duff Green, the inspirer being the "arch nullifier" himself. The excitement continued great and general for three or four years, Mr. Calhoun being all the time the prominent figure on the side of extreme State rights. His constant and powerful defense of the attitude of South Carolina in this threatening era is matter of history. The difficulty, as is well known, was finally settled without an appeal to arms, and Mr. Calhoun soon afterwards went into private life. He spent most of his time in Washington, however, engaged in political and philosophical studies.

In March, 1844, he was appointed Secretary of State in the place of Mr. Upshur who had recently been killed by the bursting of a gun on board a steamer in the Potomac River. In accepting this office from President Tyler, Mr. Calhoun was influenced almost exclusively by considerations connected with the Texan and Oregon controversies. Indeed, he expressly stated that he would retire upon the conclusion of those two negotiations. The Texan treaty having been concluded, he at once entered upon the Oregon negotiation, and had made considerable progress therein when he was

superseded by President Polk through the powerful influence of the "Jackson wing" of his party. The mission to England was urgently pressed upon Mr. Calhoun but he firmly declined. He was again elected to the Senate, taking his seat in the winter of 1845, and remaining one of its most distinguished members until his death on the 31st of March, 1850.

The doctrines entertained by this remarkable man on the subject of States' rights and African slavery were so ably set forth by him in speech and in his writings that they came to exert a powerful, controlling influence not only in South Carolina but later in other Southern States. Their adoption by large numbers of the Southern people was, in truth, one of the most potent causes of the war of the rebellion in 1861–65, which, from first to last, called under arms, on both sides, more than five million men. Such was the prodigious influence of the peculiar political ideas of Mr. Calhoun as he so powerfully and clearly made them known. It may well be doubted whether any American citizen has more distinctly impressed his mind upon great numbers of his countrymen than John C. Calhoun. It may be said that this vast influence was against the perpetuity of the republic and of free institutions. Very well. But how powerful must have been the mind which could thus propagate erroneous doctrines throughout a great section.

Daniel Webster, in his address in the Senate on the occasion of Mr. Calhoun's death, said that his eloquence was "part of his intellectual character. It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise; sometimes impassioned, still always severe. Rejecting

ornament, not often seeking far for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic, and in the earnestness and energy of his manner." His writings may be described as his eloquence condensed. He was always perfectly clear and his arguments were so powerfully put that few men were able to answer them. We thus see that the secret of his vast influence was simply his greatness. To this must be added the power of his unspotted integrity, his unimpeached honor and lofty character. In all the fierce political conflicts in which he engaged, he preserved the personal respect and love of his opponents, with the exception of the few who had treated him so badly that they necessarily had to hate him.

Mr. Calhoun was, perhaps, the finest conversationalist we have ever had in America. He took special delight in talking with young men, and Mr. Webster tells us in the address from which I have already quoted that social conversation was his only recreation. Stern and unyielding in the performance of his public duties — an iron man — in the privacy of social life he was amiable and tender. His industry was marvellous, and we surely have had among our public men no one more assiduous and conscientious in the discharge of his public duties. These great and good things in the life and character of Mr. Calhoun caused him to be universally respected by his countrymen notwithstanding so many of them dissented from his peculiar political opinions. His well known views on tariffs and other subjects of discussion of his time accord with the opinions of the world's best thinkers. "Few of our public men

since those of the revolutionary era," said the *National Intelligencer*, in announcing Mr. Calhoun's death, "have filled a larger space in the public eye; few have acted a more important part on the stage of American politics; few have left a larger void in the public councils; and not one has descended to the tomb with a deeper devotion on the part of personal friends, or with a larger share of public admiration than this illustrious Carolinian."

The Works of Mr. Calhoun, edited by Richard K. Crallé, were published a few years after his death by the Appletons. They consist of his public letters, speeches, official reports and papers, and miscellaneous political writings, forming six volumes. His Memoirs appeared later.

HON. JAMES BARBOUR,

ELEVENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

ON the inauguration of President John Quincy Adams Mr. Calhoun, who had been elected Vice-President, was installed in that office. He was succeeded as Secretary of War by the Hon. James Barbour, of Virginia. This gentleman, who became so distinguished in affairs, was the son of Colonel Thomas Barbour, a noted soldier of the revolutionary war, and was born in Orange county, Virginia, June 10, 1775. His early education was imperfect, but becoming a deputy sheriff he found means of studying law at an early age, of which he took such great advantage that he began the practice of that profession some time before he had reached the age of legal majority. Hard study and unusual powers of oratory caused him to rapidly rise in his profession and also in politics. He became a member of the House of Delegates and there greatly distinguished himself as a debater and as a practical legislator. One of his most beneficent legislative measures was an act against duelling,—a stringent law against that barbarism which he proposed and was instrumental in carrying through the legislature. He eloquently sustained the famous resolutions of Mr. Madison on the powers of the general government and the rights of the States commonly called "the resolutions of 1798–99." Mr. Barbour was for a considerable

period speaker of the House of the Virginia legislature, as his brother, Philip P., was also speaker of the national House of Representatives. James Barbour was Governor of Virginia from 1812 to 1814, and in that capacity very vigorously sustained the war with England. On intelligence of the sack of Washington by the British in August, 1814, Governor Barbour issued an eloquent proclamation in denunciation of the atrocities committed by the enemy, and earnestly called upon all men in the commonwealth "capable of bearing arms, and particularly such as are young and without families, to repair to the standard of their country, to defend their homes, their property, and their liberty, their wives, their children, and their aged parents." Thousands of volunteers answered this energetic call, so that it was said the very bones and nerves of the State had entered into the contest. Other States followed the example of the Old Dominion, and the British soon got out of the way.

On retiring from the gubernatorial chair of Virginia Mr. Barbour took his seat in the United States Senate (March, 1815), and for ten years was one of the recognized leaders of that body; a leader in debate, in forensic eloquence, in influence. For some three years he was President *pro tempore*, and left that position only to become Secretary of War. He conducted the affairs of the Department with ability for three years. In May, 1828, he was appointed Minister to England, and served in that capacity until the autumn of the following year, when he was relieved by Hon. Louis McLane, of Delaware, appointed soon after the inauguration of President Jackson. After his return to America Mr. Barbour

remained in private life, but he presided over the Whig Convention held at Harrisburgh in 1839, which put in nomination "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" for the tremendous presidential campaign of the following year. Governor Barbour died on June 8, 1842. The *National Intelligencer* of the 10th thus sums up his life and character: "Last evening's mail brought us the sad tidings of the death of the Hon. James Barbour, one of the noblest of the sons of Virginia; who had filled with honor the highest trusts which his State could repose in him, successively during many years Speaker of her House of Delegates, Governor of the State, and her Senator in Congress; and in the general government had sustained with ability the offices of Secretary of War and Minister to Great Britain; but the virtues of whose private life and character outshone all the splendor with which popular favor or political distinction could adorn his name."

GENERAL PETER B. PORTER,

TWELFTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

GENERAL PETER B. PORTER, of New York, who in 1828 succeeded Governor Barbour as Secretary of War, was a native of Connecticut. He was born at Salisbury, August 14, 1773. He had every advantage of intellectual discipline. He was graduated at Yale College in 1791, and then studied law at the famous Litchfield school. Being admitted to the bar, he determined upon making western New York his home, and entered upon the practice in Canandaigua. He speedily became prominent at the bar and popular as a politician. In 1808 he was elected to Congress and served as a Representative till 1813. He was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, at that time the most important committee of the House. He reported the resolutions for the declaration of war with England. In 1813 he was created a Major-General of Volunteers, and as such had command of the New York and Pennsylvania line. In July he successfully defended Black Rock against the British. In the battles of Chippewa, Niagara, and Fort Erie he was distinguished for gallantry and efficiency, and received the commendations of his commanding officers and a resolution of thanks and a gold medal from Congress. In 1815, President Madison offered him the appoint-

ment of commander-in-chief of the United States Army, but he declined it.

An episode in General Porter's life in the autumn of 1812 ought to be related. He accompanied General Smythe on his "Canada expedition." That officer proposed to wipe out the disgrace of Hull's surrender and of the defeat of Queenstown by an energetic invasion of Canada. He accordingly issued a tremendous manifesto. But at the very time for action, when the troops were anxious for the fray, he countermanded the whole expedition and the result was an unbounded abortion. General Porter, who had 2,000 men ready and anxious for any service, posted General Smythe as a coward. Smythe retorted, saying that Porter's courage and patriotism were solely actuated by gain or loss as he was an army contractor. A duel on Grand Island followed, in which shots were exchanged in an intrepid manner by both parties, when the seconds brought about a reconciliation.

In 1814 he was again elected to Congress, but resigned before the expiration of his term to accept the office of Commissioner under the treaty of Ghent to settle the north-eastern boundary. About the same time he was appointed Secretary of State of New York but declined. In 1817 he was a candidate for nomination to the governorship of New York against De Witt Clinton who defeated him. He then remained in private life until 1828, when Mr. Adams appointed him Secretary of War. He remained in charge of the Department till the close of that administration when his public career came to an end.

He died March 20, 1844, at Niagara Falls, having attained the age of 71 years.

General Porter was a great benefactor of western New York. He was one of the earliest friends and advocates of the Erie Canal and in 1810 was appointed, with Governeur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, William North, Simeon De Witt, and Robert Fulton the first commissioners in regard to inland navigation. He constantly continued a friend of the great practical enterprise till its success. In other enterprises whereby western New York was greatly benefitted his name will be permanently connected, no one, in fact, being more prominently identified with the history of that part of the State, political, military, or industrial, than Peter B. Porter.

As a soldier, General Porter was distinguished for high qualities to command and by great coolness and courage. In affairs, he was sagacious, shrewd, and able, though in the later years of his life he became somewhat heavy in intellect. He was the father of Hon. Augustus S. Porter who for some years was a Senator in Congress from the State of Michigan, and, by a second wife, of Colonel Peter A. Porter, of the 129th regiment New York volunteers, who was killed at the battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia, in 1864, while gallantly leading his command. He had the faculty of money-making, and at his death was worth half a million dollars, at that time a colossal fortune.

MAJOR JOHN H. EATON,

THIRTEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

OF the early life of Major John H. Eaton — as he came to be universally called after becoming prominent in public life — little is known. He was a native of Tennessee, where he was born about the year 1786, and where he received a liberal education. Very early in life he manifested an unusual genius for politics, and it is certain that he became one of America's most adroit political managers. He was United States Senator from 1818 to 1829, when he was appointed Secretary of War by President Jackson. He remained at the head of the War Department till the breakup of the cabinet in 1831, when he retired, more to relieve the President, to whom he was devoted, from embarrassment than because the President wanted to get rid of him. Such was not the fact; for General Jackson was no less devoted to Mr. Eaton, and to Mrs. Eaton, than Eaton was to him. Three years afterwards Mr. Eaton was appointed Governor of Florida and remained in that office two years. He was then appointed Minister to Spain. This office he filled from March, 1836, until May, 1840, when he returned to America, and afterwards remained in private life at the national capital. He died there, November 17, 1856, "aged about 70 years," according to the obituary notices of the public journals. Major Eaton was unquestionably

a ripe scholar and a respectable jurist. He was also an uncommonly brilliant conversationalist, abounding in humor, anecdote, and powers of quick repartee. But he was lacking in moral elements; and these, after all, form the only sure and safe foundation for general respect and lasting renown. He was the author of an elaborate but partisan life of Jackson which was published in 1824.

GENERAL LEWIS CASS,

FOURTEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

GENERAL LEWIS CASS, fourteenth Secretary of War, was for so long a period prominent in the military, political, and diplomatic affairs of the United States, that to write a full account of his life would be to write much general history as well as personal biography. This would not comport with the character of these sketches; and I shall only undertake such brief outline delineation of his life and character as may serve to place them clearly before the mind of the reader.

Lewis Cass was born at Exeter, New Hampshire, October 9, 1782. He was the son of an officer of the revolutionary army. Having received an academical education, he determined to seek his fortune in the West. When only about 17 years old he went to Ohio, most of the way on foot. He there studied law, and entered on the practice in 1802, the year in which Ohio became a State. He took an active part in politics and was a member of the legislature and a prominent man in the affairs of the State before he was 25 years of age. In 1807, he was appointed United States Marshal for the State and held that lucrative office until the breaking out of the war with England. He was then appointed Colonel of the Third Ohio regiment with which he marched to Detroit and reported to General Hull. He strongly

urged the invasion of Canada, and was actively engaged with his regiment until Hull's surrender, in which he was included though he was at the time absent from Detroit on an important expedition. He had expressed emphatic disapprobation of the retreat from Canada, but words failed him in his detestation of the disgraceful surrender. He was paroled and spent the following winter in Washington. He was exchanged in the spring of 1813 and having been commissioned a colonel and then a brigadier-general in the army of the United States, served in the Northwest under General Harrison. He bore a gallant part in the battle of the Thames, and on all occasions showed himself to be a brave and gallant soldier.

In October, 1813, General Cass was appointed Governor of Michigan Territory and held that office for eighteen years. He was also Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory, and as such negotiated many treaties with various tribes by which peaceful relations were established and the development of the Territory by civilization secured. Under his governorship the Territory was steadily settled by a people—largely from New York and New England —noted for intelligence and the spirit of progress. He was a good Governor.

In the summer of 1831, General Cass was appointed Secretary of War by President Jackson and assumed the duties of that office on the 1st of August. He remained in charge of the War Department until October, 1836, when he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France. At this time our relations with France were not altogether friendly on account of

disputes growing out of the famous spoliation claims, and the appointment of General Cass as minister to that country may be regarded as evidence not only of great friendship on the part of the remarkable man who was then President but also of the eminence which General Cass had attained as a public man. He conducted the affairs of the legation with success and contributed to the amicable adjustment of all disputes which was at length brought about. In the autumn of 1842 he requested his recall and in the latter part of that year returned to the United States.

General Cass now entered upon a political career of great prominence. He performed much valuable service for his party on the hustings in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana. In 1845 he was elected United States Senator by the legislature of Michigan. He soon became recognized as a leader of the Democratic party and much talked of as its candidate for President. In 1848 he was nominated by the Democratic national convention as candidate for that office. The Whig nominee was General Zachary Taylor, while the Free-Soilers had for their candidate ex-President Martin Van Buren. The result was the defeat of General Cass by General Taylor. Upon his acceptance of the nomination General Cass resigned his seat in the Senate, but the legislature reëlected him for the residue of the unexpired term. At the end of the term he was again reëlected, but at the time that term expired, Michigan had joined the new Republican party by a powerful majority (every county in the State voted for Frémont in 1856) and in March, 1857, General Cass retired from the

Senate making way for the famous, intrepid, and honest Mr. Chandler. But though General Cass went out of the Senate he did not go out of public employment. On President Buchanan's inauguration, the General was appointed Secretary of State, and remained in that office until December, 1860, when he resigned because of the President's refusal to reënforce the garrison of Fort Sumter. Henceforth he lived in dignified retirement at his beautiful home in Detroit. He there died June 17, 1866, at the good old age of 83 years.

As a soldier, General Cass was universally respected on account of his gallantry and energy. During the many years in which he was Governor of Michigan — at that time extending beyond the upper Mississippi River — he showed great executive capacity, performing valuable service in instituting surveys of lands and rivers and lakes, in promoting immigration, and in the management of Indian affairs. As the head of the War Department he was distinguished for energy, but was not a little criticised at the time for his policy of removing the Indians west of the Mississippi River, which brought on the Seminole war in Florida with its many years of blood and expense. As a Senator he had large influence in that body and in the country. His style of oratory was dignified, his voice sonorous but pleasing to the ear. In later years of his life when he had grown corpulent, he spoke as though his tongue were too large for his mouth. He sustained in the Senate the measures of the Democratic party and was habitually deferential to the slave power. He sustained the compromise measures of 1850 and the Nebraska bill of

1854. He opposed the Wilmot Proviso, and on one occasion even attacked the Quintuple treaty on account of its suppression of the slave trade. In the war for the Union he all the time heartily sympathized with the national cause. In his personal character General Cass was perfectly upright. He was never charged with peculation of any kind. He became greatly wealthy but by the simple advance in price of lands which he had bought at low figures. Some of these now form part of the beautiful and growing city of Detroit and, of course, became very valuable during the General's lifetime. In the use of money he was not at all generous and probably gave to benevolent objects as little as any man of equal means who ever lived. In conversation he was agreeable but not brilliant. He was fond of good wine of which he was an excellent judge, and detested a poor article with great vehemence. Perhaps the only respect in which he was absolutely generous in the use of money was in his expenditures for wines, herein making a marked and not favorable contrast to one of his most distinguished predecessors in the War Office, Samuel Dexter.

When General Cass retired from the War Department to take the mission to France, it of course left the office of Secretary vacant. There being but a few months until the administration of Jackson would close he did not like to fill the Secretaryship lest he might thereby embarrass Mr. Van Buren. Hence under the law one of the other members of the cabinet was designated by the President to per-

form the duties of the office for the time being. The cabinet officer so designated was

HON. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,

OF NEW YORK.

He was born at Kinderhook, December 15, 1795. On his mother's side he was a lineal descendant of Oliver Cromwell. He received a liberal education. He studied law with Martin Van Buren, and on his admission to the bar in 1817 became a partner of his distinguished preceptor. He was, in truth, a born lawyer, and very soon after his admission became eminent at the bar. His legal abilities soon secured for him the position of District Attorney at Albany. Elected to the legislature, he was appointed on a commission with John Duer and J. C. Spencer to revise the statutes of the State. By this time he had become one of the most eminent lawyers of the country, and in 1834 he was appointed Attorney-General of the United States by President Jackson, succeeding Roger B. Taney in that office. In 1838 he was appointed United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, and performed the duties of that office with great energy and success until the close of Mr. Van Buren's administration. He was instrumental in the establishment of the University of New York in which he became a law professor. In 1854 he left the Democratic party in the general stampede on account of the Nebraska bill, and became an ardent Republican. In 1858, he went to Europe for the benefit of his health, but died on November 8 of that year at Paris. He was a man

of perfectly pure personal character, and one of the best lawyers which the American bar has produced. There has been no better Attorney-General than he, but as temporary head of the War Department he was only called upon to perform its routine duties. He is one of our few public men who have less general renown than they justly deserve.

JOEL R. POINSETT,

FIFTEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JOEL R. POINSETT was born in Charleston, South Carolina, March 2, 1779, of refined and wealthy parents. They went to England when he was a mere child and remained there several years. He received a very thorough education but on account of delicate health did not pursue a collegiate course. He was supplied with the best of tutors, and spent two or three years under the celebrated President Dwight, at Greenfield, Connecticut. In 1796 he went abroad and was engaged in travel and study. He journeyed over much of Europe and considerable portions of Asia all the while giving much attention to scientific and general studies. He became particularly familiar with the science of medicine and with the military art, and an accomplished classical scholar. Returning to America in 1809, he was soon afterwards sent by the United States government on a general mission to South American states which had recently revolted against Spanish domination. Having established friendly and commercial relations between his government and Buenos Ayres, he crossed the continent to Chili. The Spanish authorities of Peru having invaded Chili and siezed and condemned a number of American vessels at Talcahuano, Mr. Poinsett put himself at the head of a small number of Chilians, marched on Talcahuano, retook that

place, and released the vessels. Hearing of the war between his country and England, he returned home with the purpose of entering the army, but peace was declared before his arrival. News, as well as everything else, travelled slowly in those days. He was elected a member of the legislature of his State where he originated and secured the passage of several valuable measures of internal improvements. He was a Representative in Congress from 1821 to 1825. While occupying this office he was appointed on a special mission to Mexico, at the time under the brief reign of Iturbide. He discharged the delicate duties of the mission with tact and success. In 1825, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the republic of Mexico, and though others had been appointed to that post before him no one had actually occupied it. He was the first American Minister to that republic. He was also appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the famous Panama Congress. Early in his mission to Mexico he negotiated a treaty of commerce between our government and that country. Later, his position became one of constant annoyance and difficulty and at times of imminent danger to the Minister. The country was in a greatly disturbed condition by reason of no end of local factions; Spain was still contending to regain power, sending armies of invasion; a singular jealousy of the United States had possessed many minds, or rather the notion that the republic of the United States was extremely jealous of the republic of Mexico! Mr. Poinsett, it appears, had established one or two lodges of Free-Masons, and though none but prominent patriots and republicans became

members of these societies they were charged with being a secret means for the reëstablishment of Spanish authority. Several of the Mexican States demanded his recall and a proposition of this kind in the Congress was defeated by only three votes. Threats of assassination were freely made against him, and at one time the office of the legation was attacked. In all these difficulties and dangers Mr. Poinsett remained perfectly cool and dignified. "In the discharge of my duty," he said, "I know no fear." His intrepid conduct awed his assailants, and while preserving the honor of his country and the sacredness of its flag on the occasion just referred to, secured him the special regard of his countrymen everywhere. He returned to the United States in the early part of 1830.

An exceedingly interesting portion of Mr. Poinsett's life was that with regard to the nullification agitation, which, originating in South Carolina, at this time and for a considerable period afterwards caused great excitement throughout the whole country. In this famous contest Mr. Poinsett was the leader of the Union cause in South Carolina, a position for which his great abilities, unflinching pluck, lofty character, persuasive eloquence, and conservative nature peculiarly qualified him. Thus a strong and respectable Union element was maintained in South Carolina during all the dark hours of the "folly and madness" of nullification.

Upon Mr. Van Buren's inauguration as President, in March, 1837, Mr. Poinsett was made Secretary of War. This position he retained during the administration, and so conducted its affairs as to receive the

general approbation of the country, when not much connected with Mr. Van Buren was generally approved. Mr. Van Buren is about the least understood and the most unappreciated of all our historical characters. He is the great American "wictim o' gammon." While Secretary of War, Mr. Poinsett took a leading part in founding the National Institute, to which he contributed a valuable museum. Later he founded an Academy of Fine Arts at the city of Charleston. He was the author of a work on Mexico, published in 1824, and after his retirement at the close of Mr. Van Buren's administration, delivered a number of addresses on scientific and practical topics, which, with miscellaneous essays were published and had a considerable popularity. He died at Stateburgh, South Carolina, December 12, 1851, universally loved and respected by all of his intelligent countrymen and by the world of letters. He was the last of his family.

HON. JOHN BELL,

SIXTEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

THE Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee, who was Secretary of War during the brief presidency of General Harrison and for a short time under Mr. Tyler, occupied a conspicuous position in American affairs for a long period of years. And yet, though he has now (1879) been dead only a decade his memory has almost entirely faded out of the minds of his countrymen. And he is only one of many such instances in the history of our public men, whose ephemeral renown in the great majority of cases sadly reminds us of the solemn words of Burke: "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue."

John Bell was born in Davidson county, Tennessee, February 15, 1797. He had a good education and was graduated from Nashville University in his eighteenth year. He was admitted to the bar before he was twenty years of age, and entered upon the practice of law at Franklin. He was remarkably precocious, appearing older than he was. Before he had reached his legal majority he was elected to the State Senate and took a leading position in that body, so that his constituents desired to return him but he declined a reëlection. He now for ten years devoted himself most energetically to the study and practice of his profession in which he became greatly successful and distinguished. Having thus acquired a com-

petency he again manifested ambition for public life. In 1827 he was elected a Representative in Congress and was six times consecutively rëelected making an uninterrupted service in the House of fourteen years. Of the XXXIVth Congress — 1835–37 — he was Speaker. On leaving Congress he became Secretary of War. His appointment to that important position in the Cabinet gave lively satisfaction to the Whig party throughout the country. The course of President Tyler in opposition to Whig policy and his treacherous treatment of his Secretary of the Treasury, the distinguished Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, resulted in a complete break-up of Tyler's cabinet in September, 1841, except that Mr. Webster, with a politico-moral imperturbability that has never been clearly explained to his credit, did not resign as Secretary of State. The conduct of Mr. Bell in this crisis was perfectly manly and above-board. He resigned, as he publicly stated, because Mr. Tyler had made a Whig administration impossible.

Mr. Bell now returned to Tennessee and again devoted himself for a few years to his profession. In 1847 he was elected a member of the legislature, but that body elected him to the United States Senate. On the expiration of his term he was reëlected. It thus happened that in the lower and upper houses of Congress Mr. Bell served for a period of about twenty-five years. Whether in the one or the other house he was a leading member, and, as we have seen, he became Speaker of the House. He was one of the ablest advocates of the distinctive doctrines of the Whig party — protective tariffs, internal improvements by the general govern-

ment, national banks — that the party ever had. He was also a man of liberal views and of a broad spirit of nationality. He opposed nullification; he sustained the right of petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; he opposed the annexation of Texas; he sustained the compromise measures of 1850; he opposed the Nebraska bill with great power; he opposed the admission of Kansas under the fraudulent slave constitution of Lecompton; he opposed secession, and remained a friend of the Union throughout the war. In 1860, Mr. Bell was nominated for the Presidency by the National Union party, Edward Everett being associated with him on the ticket as candidate for Vice-President. This ticket carried several States receiving 39 electoral votes. From this time until his decease Mr. Bell lived in retirement in his native State. He died at Nashville, September 10, 1869. He was a man of amiable disposition, a most agreeable companion. His convictions were profound, and he was never known to swerve from what he believed to be the strict course of duty. He had great popularity, being always stronger than his party in Tennessee. He attributed this to the fact that he never sought popularity. "Let a man do what is right," he used to say, "and he will be popular without trying to be." I do not think of but few Southern men, prominent in the last forty years, who appear to have been guided by any feeling of nationality. Eminent among these was John Bell, and he was the last of the great and select few of that section of our country south of the latitude of Baltimore.

JOHN C. SPENCER,

SEVENTEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JOHN C. SPENCER, seventeenth Secretary of War, was the son of the distinguished Ambrose Spencer of New York, for some years Chief Justice of the State, and illustrious in our annals as jurist, statesman, and philanthropist. The subject of this sketch was born at Hudson, January 8, 1788. At eighteen years of age he was graduated from Union College. In the following year he was appointed private secretary to Governor D. D. Tompkins and from this time until the close of his life he was less or more prominent in the politics of New York and the nation. He pursued legal studies during leisure hours, and having the invaluable aid of his father's advice and instruction, made great progress in acquiring a knowledge of the law. He entered upon the practice at Canandaigua in 1809, which continued to be his residence till 1845, when he removed to Albany. He filled various offices of a professional character in western New York and in 1814 was postmaster of Canandaigua. He was a Representative in Congress from 1817 to 1819. One of his principal essays while in that office was an elaborate report against the United States Bank of which in later years he became a friend and advocate. After leaving Congress he was for some years in the legislature, first

in the Assembly, of which he was Speaker in 1820, and then in the Senate. In 1827 Governor Clinton appointed Mr. Spencer one of the commission to revise the laws of the State. Mr. Spencer's work in this laborious and difficult task was of great value to the commonwealth. During the anti-masonic excitement which continued for several years after the abduction of Morgan, Mr. Spencer was appointed a special attorney-general under a law passed for the purpose to prosecute those connected with the alleged abduction and murder. Becoming involved in a controversy with Governor Throop, Mr. Spencer resigned this position. In 1832 he was again a member of the Assembly. From 1839 to 1841 he was Secretary of State and also Superintendent of Public Instruction. In October of the latter year he succeeded Mr. Bell as Secretary of War. In March 8, 1842, he was made Secretary of the Treasury. The *National Intelligencer* of the next day said: "Mr. Spencer, the newly appointed Secretary of the Treasury, entered on the duties of his office yesterday. We think it due to truth to say that, whatever objections may justly lie against Mr. Spencer politically, his intellectual capacity, promptness of decision, and untiring application fit him in a more than ordinary degree for the arduous duties of the department to which he has been appointed." In January, 1844, Mr. Spencer was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court in place of Judge Thompson deceased, but the nomination was rejected by the Senate by a vote of 21 yeas to 26 nays. In the following June Mr. Spencer resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and

proceeding to Albany henceforth devoted himself to professional and literary pursuits. He also gave much attention to the establishment and improvement of charitable institutions of the State and the enlargement of the system of popular education. He edited the first American edition of De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" which had a very wide publicity. He died May 18, 1855.

JAMES M. PORTER,

EIGHTEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JAMES MADISON PORTER, who was Secretary of War from March 8, 1843, until January 30, 1844, was a native of Pennsylvania. He was born at Selma, in that State, January 6, 1793. Receiving a good general course of mental training, and taking a thorough course of legal studies, he entered the profession of law at an early age and became an eminent lawyer and jurist. Before entering upon practice, however, he had served a considerable time as a volunteer in the war of 1812. For many years Mr. Porter devoted himself exclusively to the duties of his profession but in 1838 he was elected a delegate to the Convention called to revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania. In this body he bore a prominent part, his judicial impartiality and dignified oratory eminently fitting him for a leading position in a deliberative body of this kind.

In March, 1842, Mr. Porter was appointed Secretary of War by President Tyler, succeeding Mr. Spencer who was transferred to the Treasury Department. He performed the duties of the office until January 30, 1843, when his nomination was rejected by the Senate. The long delay in any action in the case was at the instance of Mr. Porter's friends, who thought they might overcome the opposition sufficiently to secure his confirmation. In this

they were wofully mistaken; for Mr. Porter only received three votes, thirty-eight being cast against him. Hereupon he went into retirement, passing the residue of his life at Easton. He was several years President Judge of the district court embracing his residence, and was for a quarter of a century President of the board of trustees of La Fayette College, Easton, of which he had been one of the founders. He died at Easton November 11, 1862. He was a man universally respected for his personal virtues and generous benevolence. His rejection by the Senate in 1843 was wholly due to political intrigues and bargains.

WILLIAM WILKINS,

NINETEENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

WILLIAM WILKINS was born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, December 20, 1779. He was the son of John Wilkins an officer in the revolutionary army and a pioneer of western Pennsylvania. His son received his education in Pittsburgh. He became a business man, largely engaged in manufacturing and also in banking. In 1819, he began his political career by being elected to the legislature. He was United States Senator from 1831 to 1834, but did not distinguish himself in that body. In June of the latter year he was appointed Minister to Russia. His mission was somewhat celebrated by his elegant absenteeism. He was recalled in 1836. In 1842 he was elected a Representative from Pittsburgh to the XXVIIIth Congress. While occupying that position he was appointed Secretary of War — February 15, 1844, and was at once unanimously confirmed by the Senate. In April Mr. Wilkins published a long "address of the Secretary of War to the people of the XXIst congressional district of Pennsylvania," on the subject of the annexation of Texas and in favor thereof. His argument had a powerful commercial flavor, his main point being that Pittsburgh would find a new and permanent market for her steamboats and other manufactured articles in Texas, if Texas,

with her many navigable rivers—he mentioned seven or eight by name—were once an integral part of the Union. He also dilated on the "sugar crop" of Texas, and on the building thereon of a "protection" party in the extreme South. The address conclusively demonstrated that Mr. Wilkins was a very great wag or a very small statesman. He died June 23, 1865.

WILLIAM L. MARCY,

TWENTIETH SECRETARY OF WAR.

WILLIAM LEARNED MARCY was born in Worcester county, Massachusetts, December 12, 1786. He was graduated at Brown University in 1808. He then engaged in teaching for a time at Newport, Rhode Island, studying law also at such hours as he could. About 1810 he removed to Troy, New York, and there entered upon the practice of his profession. He served as a volunteer during the war with England, distinguishing himself, October 22, 1812, by the capture of a corps of Canadian militia at St. Regis, being the first prisoners taken on land and their flag the first captured during the war. At the close of the war Mr. Marcy resumed his practice at Troy. In the following year he was appointed Recorder of Troy. For a time he was the editor of the *Troy Budget*, a Republican journal of influence. In 1821 he was appointed adjutant-general of the State. He now rapidly rose to the first honors of the State, to national and world-wide renown. In 1823 he became State's Comptroller. In 1829 he was appointed associate justice of the Supreme Court and gave up this honorable office only to become United States Senator in 1831. Holding this office for two years he was successively elected Governor of New York until 1839, when, after an animated canvass, he was defeated by William H. Seward. His friend Mr. Van Buren being President, Mr. Marcy was consoled for his defeat by appointment as one of a board of

Commissioners to examine and decide upon certain Mexican claims then pending against the government. He was engaged in the performance of the judicial duties of this position about three years, when he returned to Albany, which he had made his home upon assuming the office of Comptroller. He remained in retirement less than three years, for upon Mr. Polk's accession to the Presidency in March, 1845, Mr. Marcy became Secretary of War and remained such during the administration. This term of office embraced the entire period of the war with Mexico. President Polk was neither a bad nor a great man, but he had all the bad and despicable faults of an intriguer. The strong men in his cabinet were the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker. But for the inflexible integrity and square dealing of these eminent statesmen the administration would have been disgraced by the management of our armies on the unconscionable rules of an old-fashioned party canvass. Against a proposed programme of this nature Marcy and Walker stood like a stone wall and it was not allowed to succeed. During the war and the administration he conducted the affairs of the Department with uncommon vigor and with perfect fidelity to the country and to the army.

At the close of the administration Mr. Marcy returned to private life, but continued to be active and potent in the politics of New York. At the national convention of the Democratic party in 1852, Mr. Marcy was supported for the Presidency by many friends during the whole of the long contest for nomination. In several ballotings he received be-

tween 90 and 100 votes. General Pierce becoming President in March, 1853, called Mr. Marcy to the head of his cabinet and he continued to be Secretary of State till the close of the administration. While the administration of President Pierce has been justly condemned for many things in its domestic policy and for the "Ostend manifesto" proclaimed by three of its prominent representatives abroad, it is nevertheless true that the management of difficult and exciting questions with Great Britain, Austria, and the tumultuous Central American States conferred high honor and world-wide renown on Secretary Marcy. He cared nothing for the glare of popularity, but his state papers have a solid merit, a manifestation of ponderous intellectual power which place him among the first of American diplomatists.

On returning to Albany, Mr. Marcy intended to make the tour of Europe with his family. Preparations for the journey had been nearly completed, when, his family desiring to visit friends to the westward of Albany, he made a visit to Ballston Spa. He there died suddenly of heart disease near noon of Independence Day. The telegraph announced the fact as follows: "Mr. Marcy was found dead in his room at noon to-day. He appeared to be in his usual health, this morning." He had in truth been suffering slightly from palpitation of the heart for some time. A little before 11 o'clock he personally called upon his physician and directed that he call at his hotel. Returning to the hotel. Mr. Marcy directed that the doctor be sent to his room and at once retired thither. Presently the doctor came, called at the room, knocked, but receiving no response, re-

turned to the office. Waiting a few moments, it now being about twenty minutes since Mr. Marcy had given the direction to the clerk, he went again to the room and opening the door found Mr. Marcy lying on his couch perfectly dead. The body, fully clothed, lay as if in the repose of slumber, without a muscle distorted, and with a book in one hand lying on the breast. It was evident that the vital organ had instantly ceased to perform its functions and that the great statesman had painlessly passed from the repose of sleep to the repose of death.

I do not know that I can so appropriately close this imperfect sketch of this great and universally beloved man as in the words of the *National Intelligencer* — a journal politically opposed to Mr. Marcy — of Monday, July 6, in commenting on the brief telegraphic announcement already quoted: "In each minute of time such numbers of victims are ever obeying the final summons that the solemnity of the event is diminished by its familiarity; but this unlooked for stroke of the destroyer will 'give pause' to every heart in this vast country; for no man was more widely known to the intelligent portions of his countrymen for his important civil services, or was more universally respected for his abilities as a statesman, his well-balanced principles, his firmness in the path of duty, and his inflexible integrity. At his period of life and after the close of his brilliant career under the late administration it is probable that Mr. Marcy would never again have emerged from the shades of private life; still his death must be regarded as a public loss, and it will be everywhere mourned as such."

GEORGE W. CRAWFORD,

TWENTY-FIRST SECRETARY OF WAR.

WHEN General Taylor entered into the chief magistracy political circles at the national capital and throughout the country were in a state of fervent speculation upon the subject of his cabinet. He had been as yet untried in political affairs; he was notable for reticence. The announcement of his cabinet did much to dispel the fears of even many things that his administration might, by reason of his want of experience in political life, turn out to be unsuccessful. For there has seldom been a stronger cabinet than that of President Taylor. John M. Clayton, William B. Preston, Thomas Ewing, Jacob Collamer, Reverdy Johnson were men of great abilities and national renown. The others of the cabinet were men of large talents and wide celebrity. Of these was the Hon. George W. Crawford, Secretary of War.

He was born in Columbia county, Georgia, December 22, 1798. His advantages of early study were good. He was graduated from the college of New Jersey, Princeton, in 1820. Having studied law he entered upon the practice at Augusta. He had fine success at the bar and steadily rose to eminence in his profession. He was State's attorney-general from 1827 to 1831. After this he took an active part in politics and several times represented his county in the legislature. In 1842 he was elected

a Representative in Congress to fill a vacancy and served one session in the House. From 1843 to 1847 he was Governor of Georgia. When a candidate for Governor, Mr. Crawford made an energetic canvass of the State which largely contributed to the political revolution that occurred. He was elected by about 4,000 majority and the Whigs carried both branches of the legislature by almost two to one. This triumph gave Mr. Crawford much prominence in the Whig party. His administration of the affairs of the State was vigorous and thoroughly honest. Several measures of economy recommended by him, notably the reduction of the number of members of the Senate, became laws of the State. Mr. Crawford's appointment of Secretary of War was entirely unexpected by him. It was the result of the voluntary recommendations of many prominent Whigs of the South. He entered upon the duties of the office on the 14th of March. With the other members of General Taylor's cabinet he retired upon the accession of Vice-President Fillmore to the Presidency in July, 1850. A few years later Mr. Crawford made the tour of Europe, and afterwards lived in retirement on his estates near the city of Augusta, where he died.

There was considerable delay after the retirement of Mr. Crawford from the War Department in the selection of a successor. During this interregnum the affairs of the Department were conducted by General Scott.

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT,

SECRETARY OF WAR AD INTERIM.

Winfield Scott was born near Petersburgh, Virginia, June 13, 1786. He was supplied with every means of education, general and professional, having a number of excellent private tutors, and attending William and Mary College. He studied law at Petersburgh and was admitted to the bar there in 1806. He only remained a short time in this profession for in 1808 he was appointed a captain of artillery in the United States Army and from that time forth his life was devoted to arms. A notable event of his short career at the bar was his presence at the famous trial of Aaron Burr for treason. He there made the acquaintance of a number of men eminent in law and in literature. He has a long description of the trial in his "Autobiography," concluding with this brief note: "It is a striking fact that three of our ex-Vice-Presidents — Aaron Burr, J. C. Calhoun, and J. C. Breckinridge — became, each in his day, a leader in treason." As to Mr. Calhoun, this will be news to many persons who recollect the definition of treason.

Scott found the natural sphere for the development of his genius in the army. He was born a soldier, as Byron was a poet and John Marshall a jurist. He became thoroughly familiar with the details of the military art which he studied with more assiduity than had characterized his college life. In July, 1812, war with England being declared about the same time, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Artillery and ordered to the Canada frontier. He reported to General Alexander Smythe,

October 4th. On the 13th, occurred the battle of Queenstown in which Scott fought gallantly but in the final and disastrous part of the fight was made prisoner of war. Going by Kingston, Prescott, and Montreal to Quebec, Scott was there paroled, and in the latter part of November sailed for Boston. Reaching Washington on January 13, 1813, he there learned that he had been exchanged. He was soon again in active service reporting to General Dearborn, commanding the Northern army, in May, with his full battalion of artillery. In March he had been appointed adjutant-general with the rank of Colonel and about the same time was promoted Colonel of his regiment. For some time he served under both commissions and as adjutant-general performed valuable service in the organization of General Dearborn's army on the Niagara frontier. In the capture of Fort George, May 27, Scott commanded the advance and behaved with consummate skill and bravery. He was the first within the captured work and personally lowered the British colors. He was severely wounded by the explosion of a magazine. At the battle of Chippewa, July 5, he was equally conspicuous. The enemy here were completely beaten and driven from the field by an actual bayonet charge of the right wing of the army under Scott. He was engaged with even greater prominence at the double, day-and-night battle of Lundy's Lane and Niagara Heights and late in the fight was severely wounded, an ounce ball penetrating his left shoulder joint. During the day two horses had been shot under him and he had been much contused by the falls. For his gallant conduct in these engage-

ments he was brevetted a major-general and voted special thanks and a gold medal by resolution of Congress.

By slow and painful stages, interrupted by frequent stoppages, General Scott proceeded to Philadelphia where the care of skilful surgeons soon placed him comparatively out of pain. In the autumn he returned to active duty with an important command, headquarters at Baltimore. But his participation in pitched battles during the war with England closed when he fell insensible on the Heights of Niagara.

In the spring of 1815, General Scott was President of a board of several officers to whom had been consigned the duty — to them one of great pain — of reducing the army to a peace basis. This being done, he set out for Europe in July, in a kind of diplomatic-military capacity, and remained abroad, in England and on the Continent, for more than a year. He remained several months in Paris during its occupation by the allied armies after the battle of Waterloo, and while there witnessed reviews of five hundred thousand troops. Returning in 1816, he had a respite from participation in scenes of actual bloodshed, though conducting several Indian campaigns, for a period of more than thirty years.

It was not, however, a period of repose to General Scott. On the contrary, during this long era of the general cessation of our arms, he performed very much greatly valuable service to his country besides that in the strict line of his military duties, and carried on several quarrels with public men in his usual animated manner. One of these was with General Jackson in which both parties lashed each other furi-

ously with ink. Some six years later, Jackson being then a Senator, an apparently friendly understanding was reached, but still later, Jackson being President caused General Scott to be harassed and tried by court-martial for alleged inefficiency in his brief campaigns against the Seminoles and Creeks. General Scott was thoroughly vindicated by the court. During the nullification troubles, General Scott thrice visited Charleston, and performed invaluable service in preventing the outbreak of actual hostilities between the State and Federal forces. During the northern border troubles in 1837–39, when the "Canadian Patriots" as they called themselves were at brief intervals threatening or attempting raids from our frontier upon Canada, General Scott was uncommonly active in the suppression of such movements, making several journeys from northern Vermont to Detroit and return. During a lull in this storm he proceeded to the South to supervise the removal of the Cherokee Indians from their hereditary homes in North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama to the lands set apart for them west of the Mississippi. This hard and delicate duty he performed with wonderful firmness, discretion, and humanity. In 1839, the inhabitants of Maine and New Brunswick being about to come to blows over the disputed boundary between the province and the State, General Scott was sent thither to arrange the difficulty. He succeeded. In December of this year the Whigs held their national convention at Harrisburgh for the nomination of President. General Scott was a candidate, but not a formidable one. On the announcement of the ballot — by separate State delegations — by which a choice

had been agreed upon, it appeared that General Harrison had 148 votes, Mr. Clay 90, and General Scott 16.

In June, 1841, General Scott proceeded to Washington and there established his headquarters as commander-in-chief of the United States Army. He remained there much of the time until his departure to take chief command in Mexico in the spring of 1847. On the 9th of March he landed near Vera Cruz with an army of about 12,000 men, and speedily invested the city which surrendered unconditionally on the 26th. With the city fell the powerful castle of San Juan D'Ulloa. Waiting only for reënforcements and supplies, Scott pushed on into the interior in his memorable march on the city of Mexico, fighting his entire way against an enemy superior in numbers and having every advantage of position. He won the battle of Cerro Gordo on April 18, but moved on almost immediately to Jalapa where no resistance was offered. Still marching on, Puebla was reached, and the city surrendered without firing a gun. Here there was some necessary delay but in August the order to move forward was again given, and in about a month the Capital of Mexico was in General Scott's possession. The series of battles of this campaign were admirable exhibitions of skill in command and bravery on the field. Contreras, San Antonio, and Churubusco were won on two days, August 19 and 20, Molinos del Rey September 8, Chapultepec the 13th, and Mexico the 14th. General Scott immediately set up a military government and levied contributions on the Mexicans for the supply of his military chest. His conduct in Mexico

was afterwards the subject of investigation, and was found to have been fully justifiable by the laws of war and the dictates of good sense.

On his return home in 1848 General Scott was received with every demonstration of honor by the public and by municipal authorities. His friends again presented his name as a candidate for President in the Whig national convention held at Philadelphia in June. The two stronger candidates than he on the first ballot were General Taylor and Mr. Clay, but on the fourth ballot the vote stood: Taylor 171, Scott 63, Clay 32, Webster 14, the soldier candidates being fivefold stronger than the statesmen. It is worthy of note that after this Messrs. Clay and Webster were unable to find much merit in soldiers. I may also remark that on one occasion after General Taylor had become President, the Kentucky statesman treated him with studied *hauteur* which was so manfully and handsomely resented by "Old Rough and Ready" that Mr. Clay retreated from the Executive Mansion a sadder and a wiser man. General Scott in his "Autobiography" speaks of General Taylor almost in terms of supercilious contempt. His success at Philadelphia was unpardonable by the defeated, and their treatment of him a lamentable proof of the weakness of human nature. In 1852, General Scott was again a candidate for the presidential nomination and after a long contest in convention was nominated, his principal competitors being Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster. In the election he only carried the States of Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, — a defeat so

tremendous that the Whig party never recovered from its effects.

At the breaking out of our civil war General Scott rendered vigilant service in securing the peaceful inauguration of President Lincoln and in organizing the army for the defense of Washington. He retired from active service November 1, 1861, and having made a journey to Europe, spent most of the residue of his life in preparing his "Autobiography," which appeared in two volumes in 1864 and has had great publicity. He had years before published several works of a military character which likewise had an extensive sale and were also extensively pirated. The latest years of his life General Scott spent at the Military Academy, West Point, and died there May 29, 1866, having nearly reached the age of 82 years.

This illustrious man was always charged by his enemies, of whom he had many, with overweening vanity and ferocious egotism. The charge is sustained by his own "Autobiography" where these qualities are so often manifested that one may well doubt whether he possessed the quality of modesty at all. A notable instance of this is seen in his years of importunity for the Presidency, and in the injustice and downright slander which he dealt out to the eminent men who defeated him. It is even more conspicuous, perhaps, in the air of resignation which he assumes on his final defeat and which would amount to actual satisfaction but for the great harm done the country! No one of well-balanced mind can read these deliberate manifestations of weakness in General Scott without pitying if not despising them. He

seems also to have been almost if not quite without the quality of magnanimity. Acquainted with more public men than almost any one of his contemporaries he probably had more to say in their condemnation and less in their praise than is easily conceivable by a generous mind. About the only two Americans to whom he gives liberal praise are Mr. E. D. Mansfield, who wrote a fulsome biography of Scott, and a Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, who handled the Scott forces at the Harrisburgh convention, and, failing in that, nominated John Tyler for the second place. He is entitled to little credit as a statesman. Whenever he undertook to express himself upon a subject in this domain he was crude, not well informed, sometimes even fantastical. His delineation of the character of Mr. Jefferson as a public man would do no credit to a school-boy.

It is painful to recur to these things on the "off-side" of General Scott's character. His real greatness was his military genius. He had the genius to command men. His career in the war of 1812 showed that he was a great soldier. His campaign of Mexico is one of the finest exhibitions of soldierly genius of which history gives any account. As a soldier he was great not only in the weighty duties of war but in those of peace. No great captain ever gave more attention to the comfort and happiness of his troops at all times than General Scott. With the object of personally knowing that matters of the kind here referred to were properly attended to he very frequently visited the different forts and garrisons of the country and personally inspected them. Every soldier in the rank and file of the American army

knew that General Scott was his friend. On account of his success in settling the nullification troubles, the Black Hawk war, the removal of the Cherokees, the Canadian difficulty, the north-eastern boundary imbroglio he was called "the great pacificator." Entitled to the highest honor for his invaluable services in these particulars, they were due to his military genius not to any special diplomatic ability. Let every one of these cases be carefully analyzed and it will be seen that in all of them he gained success more through the fear of dreaded conflict than by peaceful argument. We have since had greater captains than Scott, but it is as a soldier, for more than fifty years defending his country with unsurpassing gallantry in the field, and with splendid planning and execution of campaigns that he deserves the lasting and unmixed gratitude of the republic.

HON. CHARLES M. CONRAD,

TWENTY-SECOND SECRETARY OF WAR.

AFTER the accession of Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency, he had considerable difficulty in the formation of his cabinet. The appointment of Secretary of War was offered to the Hon. Edward Bates, of Missouri, and declined by him. My recollection, which however may be at fault, is that it was offered to others also who declined. It will be remembered that Fillmore entered into the chief magistracy at a time of intense and general political excitement over the "compromise measures," as they were very inappropriately called, on the slavery question then pending. It was difficult if not impossible to find great men, who were also honest, to take positions in an administration known to be ardently friendly to those "compromise measures." In the end Mr. Fillmore succeeded in forming a cabinet better than any one had a right to expect. He offered the War Department to the Hon. Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana, at that time a Representative in Congress, and it was accepted. He was appointed August 9, 1850, confirmed the 15th, and entered upon his duties the next day, relieving General Scott, Secretary *ad interim*.

Charles Magill Conrad was born in Winchester, Virginia, December 24, 1804. When he was very young his father moved to the then Territory of Mississippi, and a few years afterwards settled in Louisi-

ana. He gave the son a liberal education and a thorough course of legal studies. He was admitted to the bar of New Orleans in 1828 and practiced there with success. He was a member of the Louisiana legislature for several years. In 1841, he was elected United States Senator for the unexpired term of Hon. A. E. Mouton, resigned, and occupied that office till March 3, 1843. In the following year he was a member of a Convention to revise the Constitution of Louisiana. He took an active part, during the same year, in the presidential campaign advocating the election of Mr. Clay. In 1848 he was elected to Congress by the Whigs of New Orleans and took his seat in the House in December of the following year. He resigned this office to take that of Secretary of War in August, 1850, as stated above. He remained at the head of the Department during the residue of Mr. Fillmore's administration. After his retirement from this office Mr. Conrad resumed the practice of law in New Orleans, and was a prominent member of the bar until the secession of the State broke up the bar and pretty much everything else of value in the commonwealth. In 1861 he was elected a delegate to the provisional Congress of Montgomery, and thereafter in the conflict between the "Confederacy" and the Union took prominent part against the Union. He was a member of the "Confederate Congress" from 1862 till 1864. After the war he again resumed the practice of his profession, but age had impaired his powers and he did not notably succeed. He died February 11, 1878. His son Charles A. Conrad, is a prominent lawyer of New Orleans.

JEFFERSON DAVIS,

TWENTY-THIRD SECRETARY OF WAR.

JEFFERSON DAVIS was born in Christian county, Kentucky, June 3, 1808. His father removed during his very early life to Mississippi, but Jefferson was sent to Transylvania College in his native State for education. Appointed to West Point he was graduated there in the class of 1828. He served as second lieutenant of infantry till 1833, and then till 1835 as first lieutenant of dragoons. During this period he was engaged in the Black Hawk war and in several expeditions against the Pawnees and other hostile Indians in all of which fine soldierly qualities were exhibited. In 1835, he resigned his commission in the army and entered upon the life of a planter on extensive estates in Mississippi. He had recently married Miss Sarah Knox Taylor, a daughter of General Taylor. This Mrs. Davis died during the same year. In 1845 Mr. Davis appeared as a Representative in Congress and at once took prominent part in the debates of that body and became known to the country as a States' rights Democrat "of the most straightest sect." On the breaking out of the Mexican war he was commissioned Colonel of the First Mississippi regiment and resigned his seat in Congress that he might proceed as soon as practicable to the front. The career of Colonel Davis in the Mexican war is historical and is highly creditable

to his renown as a soldier. In the operations before Monterey, which resulted in its capitulation September 24, 1846, Colonel Davis and his command were specially conspicuous, storming the redoubts on the eastern side of the city where the fighting was more severe than in other parts of the field. After heroic fighting and great carnage the redoubts and with them the city were won. But though Colonel Davis and his gallant Mississippians won the principal honors in the storming of Monterey, fairly shared, however, by the no less gallant Tennesseeans who participated in the series of bloody conflicts, he and his command won still greater honors on the field of Buena Vista. At the crisis of that eventful struggle he sustained and repulsed the united attack of the Mexican cavalry and infantry and saved the day to the American arms. His command was posted on a plateau in rear of a Kentucky and Indiana regiment. The latter, commanded by Colonel Bowles, gave way before the impetuous attack of superior numbers, leaving a terrible break in the American lines. Colonel Davis, to retrieve the disaster, instantly formed his command in the shape of a V with the opening toward the enemy, and gave the order to receive "the Greasers" with cold lead but not to fire a shot till the whites of their eyes were plainly visible. The slaughter was awful. Horses and riders fell in promiscuous heaps, and hundreds of riderless steeds, escaping from the sheet of fire, added terror to the supporting lines of Mexicans. Still these again and again renewed the charge but were each time repulsed with terrible loss. At length they retreated from the field and Buena Vista was

won. The Americans had signally defeated an army four or five times their superior in numbers. In the latter part of the battle Colonel Davis was severely wounded. For his conduct at Monterey and Buena Vista he received the warmest praise in General Taylor's official reports. His wounds incapacitating him from service in the field for an indefinite period he returned to Mississippi not long after the battle which he had done so much to win. He was soon afterwards elected United States Senator, and filled that office until 1851. In that year he was a candidate for Governor of Mississippi, his competitor being the notorious Henry S. Foote. In the campaign the question of Union and disunion was discussed, Mr. Foote taking the Union side, but without forcing Mr. Davis into the expression of unequivocal disunion sentiments. The canvass was one of even more than the usual amount of bluster, drinkings, and duellings, and Mr. Davis was defeated.

Two years afterwards Mr. Davis became Secretary of War, occupying that position during the administration of President Pierce. He conducted the War Department with notable success, and with great acceptability to the army. During his administration the army regulations were revised and greatly improved and simplified; rifled guns were substituted for muskets; the army was increased; explorations in the West by army officers were vastly extended. There have been very few more accomplished and energetic Secretaries of War than Jefferson Davis.

Soon after his retirement from the War Department Mr. Davis again entered the Senate and remained a prominent member of that body until early

in 1861, when he withdrew to join his State in the secession movement. In the Senate he advocated slavery and its extension, the extreme doctrines of State rights, a Southern Pacific railroad, and the generally recognized doctrines of the Democratic party. He made himself especially conspicuous by his ardent opposition to the French Spoliation Bill. His oratory was elegant, fluent, strong, terse, not a little resembling that of Mr. Calhoun.

Mr. Davis's career as President of the "Southern Confederacy" during the entire period of its unlawful existence is historical. Fleeing southward after the fall of Richmond in the spring of 1865 he was captured by Union soldiery near Irwinville, Georgia, and was thenceforth transferred as a prisoner of State to Fortress Monroe, where he remained, under indictment for treason, for two years. He was then released on bail, but still remains under bond to answer to the indictment, should the court ever see fit to call upon him to do so. After his release, Mr. Davis spent some time abroad. Since his return he has been engaged much of the time in business at Memphis, Tennessee. During this time he has on several occasions expressed his views upon political topics, reiterating the sentiments whose bad influence brought such untold woes upon the republic, and causing even the most magnanimous Union men of the country to regret that he gave no evidence of a change of heart.

JOHN B. FLOYD,

TWENTY-FOURTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JOHN BUCHANAN FLOYD was born in what is now Pulaski county, Virginia, in 1805. He was for a time a student at Georgetown College, District of Columbia, but went to the College of South Carolina later and was graduated there in 1826. He removed to Helena, Arkansas, and there engaged in the practice of law for a few years. About 1839 he returned to Virginia and practiced his profession in Washington county. He took an active part in politics and was three times elected to the legislature. From 1850 to 1853 he was Governor of Virginia. In 1856 at the Cincinnati convention he actively supported the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, and, upon his accession to the Presidency he appointed Floyd Secretary of War. During the latter part of the administration he secretly aided the plans of the secession leaders in various ways, and would have doubtless done so to greater extent than he actually did but for the vigilance of General Scott. In December, 1860, Mr. Floyd was superseded as Secretary of War by Hon. Joseph Holt of Kentucky. Henceforth he openly espoused the Confederate cause. He was commissioned a brigadier-general by the Confederate pretended government. He did not succeed in the army. Driven from West Virginia by General Rosecrans in the autumn of 1861, and routed at

Carnifex Ferry September 10, he is next heard of at Fort Donelson, whence, while his superior officers were considering of capitulation, he "stole himself away" with his command in a quite unceremonious and unmilitary fashion. General Floyd was publicly censured by his employers who declined to assign him to further duties. He died at Abington, Virginia, August 26, 1863, having become about as thoroughly disliked by the "Confederate" as he was by the Union people of the country.

JOSEPH HOLT,

TWENTY-FIFTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JOSEPH HOLT was born in Breckenridge county, Kentucky, January 6, 1807. He received a thorough classical and mathematical education, St. Joseph's College at Bardstown and Centre College, Danville, dividing the honors of having directed his intellectual discipline. Having studied law he entered on practice in Elizabethtown, where he so well succeeded that in a short time he removed to Louisville. This was in 1832. In the following year he became State's attorney for the circuit. In 1835, following an impulse about that time quite prevalent among young lawyers, Mr. Holt removed to the far South. He located at Port Gibson, Mississippi, and there followed his profession with very marked success for about seven years, when he determined to return to Kentucky and make that his permanent home. Returning accordingly to Louisville he there practiced his profession with constantly increasing reputation for some fifteen years. In 1857, he was appointed Commissioner of Patents by President Buchanan. After the death of Postmaster-General Aaron V. Brown Mr. Holt was appointed to that office — March, 1859. In December, 1860, when Floyd withdrew from the War Department, Mr. Holt was designated Secretary of War *ad interim*. For some time he had charge of both departments but

being confirmed Secretary of War, Horatio King became Postmaster-General. The cordial coöperation of Mr. Holt with General Scott assured the peaceful inauguration of President Lincoln. In the early stages of the civil war Mr. Holt took a very earnest part in Kentucky politics, advocating out-and-out Unionism and denouncing the policy of neutrality with great powers of reasoning and eloquence. In this trying epoch the Union cause did not have an abler advocate than Joseph Holt. And he thus continued throughout the war, sustaining emancipation, enfranchisement — all the great measures of human rights through which the Union cause became entitled to the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God. Having meanwhile filled some minor positions of a military-judicial character, but temporary in their nature, Mr. Holt, in September, 1862, was appointed Judge-Advocate-General of the Army. This position, at this time, of course, one of great labor and responsibility, he filled with success, trying many cases which are recognized as historical. In 1864, upon the creation of the Bureau of Military Justice, he was placed in charge of it. In November of this year President Lincoln offered Judge Holt the appointment of Attorney-General which he declined. His duties at the head of the Bureau of Military Justice were exceedingly onerous, and not a few of them distasteful; but he so conducted them as to deserve and to receive the respect of candid and intelligent men of all shades of opinion. It was impossible for any man to direct the affairs of this bureau at this time without subjecting himself to severe criticism. No man could have received less

of this, that was just, than he. In December, 1875, Judge Holt, who held the rank of Brevet Major-General in the Army, was retired at his own request, and Judge William McKee Dunn was promoted to his place in charge of the Bureau of Justice, and has discharged the duties of the position with perfect fidelity and exceptional ability. Judge Holt resides in Washington, where he has troops of friends who recognize in him a genuine statesman and a pure and undefiled patriot whose name belongs to the few, the immortal few that were not born to die.

SIMON CAMERON,

TWENTY-SIXTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

SIMON CAMERON was born in the little village of Maytown, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, March 8, 1799. Becoming an orphan when nine years of age, without patrimony, he was compelled henceforth by his own labors to make his way in the world. And it must be confessed he made his way about as successfully as any man in the world. Having had such "schooling" as the public schools of those days afforded, and the advantage of the reading of many books, he was apprenticed to a printer in Northumberland who agreed to teach "the said apprentice in the art, trade, and mystery of a printer." At this time Cameron was 17 years old but small in stature and anything but vigorous in health. He went to work at the trade — for his labor he was to receive board, lodging, washing, and $20 a year for clothing — but in a few months his employer failed, and the youth was thrown upon his own resources again. Proceeding down the Susquehanna River on a flat-boat to Harrisburgh, he there was taken into a good newspaper office as an apprentice. He learned the art preservative so rapidly and so much improved his mind by reading that at the end of his two years' apprenticeship he was made assistant editor of what was then, outside of Philadelphia, the leading news-

paper of Pennsylvania. During his printer-life Mr. Cameron spent some time in Washington, working at the case and studying politics with his eyes and ears. Having saved some little money in the printing business, Mr. Cameron at length drifted out of it, and undertook the construction of some public works as a contractor. Successful in this, he established a bank at Middletown, a few miles down the Susquehanna from Harrisburgh. The business at that time was very profitable and he soon amassed an independent fortune. The bank, established in 1832, is still in existence, and so late as the summer of 1878 Mr. Cameron was still connected with it. Some years after he established his bank Mr. Cameron was nominated for Congress by his party but after a few weeks declined the nomination. He took great interest in the construction of railroads, then being introduced as means of transportation and was chosen president of two railway companies. He was also for some time Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania. In 1845 he was elected United States Senator. Judge Woodward had received the nomination of the regular Democratic caucus, but being "bitten with free trade," the nomination was unsatisfactory to the protectionists. They combined against Judge Woodward and uniting upon Mr. Cameron elected him by a majority of one vote. He served in the Senate four years. He then returned to his bank in Middletown but henceforth was a potent man in the politics of Pennsylvania.

On the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, Mr. Cameron left the Democratic party, and on the organization of the new Republican party shortly

afterwards became a Republican. In 1857 he was again elected to the United States Senate for a full term. In 1860 Mr. Cameron was generally spoken of in Pennsylvania as a candidate for the presidency, and very many public journals of other States mentioned his name with favorable comments. At the national convention of that year he received 50½ votes for the nomination being the third highest among the candidates balloted for. He received one vote and a half more than Mr. Chase. Being appointed Secretary of War by President Lincoln, March, 1861, Mr. Cameron resigned his seat in the Senate. "How difficult it was to fill the position of Secretary of War then," said Mr. Cameron in 1878, "none but myself can ever know. A few weeks after I had been appointed the war broke out, and from my intimate acquaintance and frequent conversation with Mr. Davis and other Southern Senators, I was convinced that the struggle was to be a long and determined one. Neither President Lincoln nor Mr. Seward shared that opinion, however. If I am not greatly mistaken they both thought that 'the disturbance,' as the rebellion was at first called, would soon blow over. Nearly all the people were of the same opinion. Indeed, it was almost impossible to find a man who had any intelligent idea of the magnitude of the struggle which was then begun. Oh, it was a terrible time," General Cameron continued, with increasing warmth and earnestness, "a terrible time. We were entirely unprepared for such a conflict, and for the moment, at least, absolutely without even the simplest instruments with which to engage in war. We had no guns, and even if we had, they would

have been of little use, for we had no ammunition to put in them — no powder, no saltpetre, no bullets, no anything that was needed. I did the best I could under the circumstances, working day and night, to be ready for the great fights which I knew must come. But still there were very few persons who believed that the war would last for more than a few weeks, or months at the most. I clung to my original opinion, however, and advised that 500,000 men be raised to put down the rebellion. People laughed at me, thought I was mad. Even Mr. Seward, keen-witted and far-sighted as he was, still believed that the trouble was to be short-lived, and mentioned 75,000 men as an army sufficient for all the needs of the nation. After a time, however, both he and the leading members of Congress began to see their error, and the government was given authority to raise 500,000 men, the number which I at first suggested.

"As the struggle progressed, the War Department became more and more distasteful to me. Indeed, my position was a most disagreeable one. At first having no means at my command; then laughed at for predicting that the war would be a long and bloody one; and all the time harassed by contractors and others who were bent on making all they could out of the crisis, I was certainly not in a place to be envied. Still, I held on, doing what I could, until, sincerely believing that it would be for the best, I recommended that the negroes of the South be armed and employed in the service of the Union. That idea was a trifle too advanced for the time, and the end of it was that I went out of the cabinet."

Mr. Cameron was appointed Minister to Russia in January, 1862, and Mr. Stanton took charge of the War Department. Mr. Cameron was not satisfied in St. Petersburgh. He only remained there until September when of his own motion he threw up the mission and returned home. He reached America in the latter part of the year 1862. Not long thereafter he received an invitation from a considerable number of Republican members of both branches of Congress to visit Washington and attend a consultation in regard to national affairs. He found that it was in contemplation to impeach President Lincoln and remove him from office! The friends of this scheme supposed that Mr. Cameron's "sore" feelings on account of his virtual removal from the War Department would make him favor the plan. They were greatly mistaken. He energetically denounced the whole business as disastrous and insane, and it was abandoned. He in fact heartily sustained Mr. Lincoln's renomination; procured a letter from all the Republican members of the Pennsylvania legislature demanding it; and earnestly supported it in the national convention of 1864, of which he was a member and chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation.

In 1867, Mr. Cameron was again elected United States Senator, and on the expiration of his term was reëlected. In 1877, he resigned and was succeeded by his son, J. D. Cameron, who had for some months been Secretary of War. In the Senate Mr. Cameron always had great influence, though seldom taking part in debates. He was for years second, Mr. Sumner being chairman, on the Committee on

Foreign Affairs. When the proposition to remove Mr. Sumner from the chairmanship was made Mr. Cameron protested against it. He urged his objections in strong terms to Senators and to President Grant. At the time Mr. Sumner's removal was determined upon, Mr. Cameron was at his home, and learning by telegraph that he was to be made chairman he hastened to Washington in the determination to decline and to do all in his power to secure Mr. Sumner's retention. On reaching the Senate he found Mr. Schurz delivering a phillipic against him (Cameron), as the proposed chairman of the Committee. This caused Mr. Cameron to let the matter take its course. Net result: Carl Schurz ousted Mr. Sumner and made Mr. Cameron Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Mr. Schurz builded better than he supposed; for Mr. Cameron, without any fuss or nonsense or classical quotation or any other pretentious stupidity, made a first-rate chairman of the committee, so universally recognized by the Senate. His great common sense was sufficient for every occasion.

On his resignation, men asked Mr. Cameron what he was going to do. "I am going home," he said, "to raise turnips and radishes." And in such or other employment calculated to produce quiet happiness he has been engaged since his voluntary retirement to private life. Nearly eighty years of age he is still vigorous in mind and body. There has been much criticism of an unfavorable nature upon his public career. It is yet too soon to judge of it impartially and fully, but not to say that all candid men

will agree that under all circumstances he has been potently faithful to his friends, to his State, and to his country.

In the present year (1879) General Cameron was the object in a court of justice of a most disgraceful blackmailing assault, which was promptly repelled, to the great gratification of every pure and well-regulated mind.

EDWIN M. STANTON,

TWENTY-SEVENTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

EDWIN McMASTERS STANTON was born in Steubenville, Ohio, December 19, 1814. He was a graduate of Kenyon College in the class of 1833. After leaving college he was engaged for some time as salesman in a bookstore at Columbus. During leisure hours he read law and at length pursued a regular course of legal studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1836, and at once entered into practice at Cadiz. In the following year he became prosecuting attorney. He soon afterwards removed to his native place where he speedily acquired a large and lucrative practice and became distinguished as a lawyer. Between 1839 and 1842 he reported the decisions of the Supreme Court of Ohio, making three volumes. In 1848 he removed to Pittsburgh where and in the Supreme Court of the United States he had one of the largest and most profitable practices in the United States. Before the war of the rebellion his practice was worth more than $50,000 a year. He was engaged in many notable causes the most celebrated of all, perhaps, being the Wheeling Suspension Bridge case. In 1858 he was sent by the United States government to California to take charge of the government interests in important cases there pending. In December, 1860, Mr. Stanton was appointed Attorney-General by

President Buchanan. During the brief period remaining of that administration he did all that one man could do to prevent the President from allowing the Union to fall to pieces. At the close of the administration he resumed the practice, now remaining nearly all of his time in Washington in charge of his business before the Supreme Court.

In January, 1862, Mr. Stanton became Secretary of War under President Lincoln. His career in discharging that responsible trust during the residue of the war is matter of general history. His life in the Department during this period, during the entire period, in fact, in which he was Secretary of War, is so often mentioned with considerable detail in the first part of this work, that little need here be said. Let it suffice to say that Mr. Stanton threw unsurpassed, almost superhuman energy into the conduct of the affairs of the Department and so far as human means were concerned organized victory for the Union cause. General Cameron thus spoke of Mr. Stanton in a conversation in June, 1878: "He was a great, big, brave, loyal man; perhaps too harsh and quick-tempered in his treatment of those around him, but nevertheless a thoroughly good and well-meaning man. He had terrible responsibilities which at times caused him to be exacting almost to the verge of injustice, but I am sure that he always intended to do right; and there is no doubt he was in every way the man best fitted for the place in the government which he was called upon to fill. He was a man of wonderful strength not only of mind but of body, yet even he gave way under the constant, the never-ending strain which was put upon all his faculties.

His death was hastened by, if it was not the direct result of, overwork in the War Department."[1]

The relations between Secretary Stanton and President Johnson did not long remain agreeable, but Mr. Stanton upon consideration and advice determined not to resign. The crisis of this phase of the difficulty came in August, 1867, when the Secretary was suspended and General Grant appointed Secretary of War *ad interim.* The Senate sustained Mr. Stanton and he was reinstated in January, 1868. In the following May, the impeachment of President Johnson having failed in the Senate, Mr. Stanton resigned. Meanwhile, however, he had been removed, in words, by the President, in the month of February, and Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas appointed, in form, Secretary *ad interim.* Mr. Stanton remained in possession of the office, however, did not recognize General Thomas and, the Senate sustaining the Secretary, this case of *ad interim* amounted to nothing. On the 20th of December, 1869, he was appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by President Grant and the appointment was promptly confirmed by the Senate it being recognized by that body and by the country as one preëminently fit to be made. But before the commission was made Mr. Stanton was dead. He died of heart disease suddenly — though he had not been well for some months — December 24th.[2]

[1] From a conversation between General Cameron and another person, reported in the *New York Times* of June 3, 1878. From the same valuable article the long quotation with respect to the War Department in the sketch of General Cameron is taken.

[2] The exact manner of Secretary Stanton's death is thus related

The momentous events in which Mr. Stanton bore so conspicuous, so commanding a part, are so recent that it would be difficult if not impossible for any writer to assign him a place in history which would not cause large dispute. The present generation must pass away before such justice shall be done him as shall be generally, not to say universally, recognized. He was in every respect a tremendous man, in body, mind, morals, and sentiment. On duty, he always had on several hundred pounds of steam to the square inch and could carry more for a greater length of time than almost any other man of history. During the war he several times worked twenty hours a day for months at a time. Not only so, but an hour of Stanton was equivalent to two hours with most men, even those noted for energy. This is a main

by Surgeon-General Barnes, in a letter of April 16, 1879, to the Hon. Edward McPherson, editor of the Philadelphia Press newspaper:

DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiry, I have to state that the late Mr. Edwin M. Stanton was for many years subject to asthma in a very severe form, and when he retired from the War Department was completely broken down in health. In November of 1869 the "Dropsy or Cardiac Disease" manifested itself (after a very exhausting argument in Chambers in a legal case) and from that time he did not leave his house, rarely his bed. For many days before his death I was with him almost constantly, and at no time was he without most careful attendance by members of his family or nurses. On the night of Dec. 23 the dropsical effusion into pericardium had increased to such an extent, and the symptoms were so alarming, that the Rev. Dr. Starkey, Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, was summoned and read the service appointed for such occasions; he, with Mrs. Stanton, Mr. E. L. Stanton, the three younger children, Miss Bowie, their governess, myself, and several of the servants were by his bedside until he died at 4 A. M., Dec. 24, 1869. After the pulse became imperceptible at the wrist I placed a finger on the carotid artery, afterward my hand over his heart, and when its action ceased, I announced it to those present. * * * *

Very respectfully yours, JOSEPH K. BARNES, M. D.

secret of the sublime results, in the view of friends of the Union, which accompanied his administration of the War Department. No man was ever more "terribly in earnest," and as his executive capacity was unbounded there was no blunder in the conduct of the war after he became Secretary, that was chargeable to him. The exactions of his office demanded of him directness and promptness. There were times when with him what we call diplomacy, and even the round-about phrases of ordinary politeness, would have been crimes. The country never once suffered through such blundering, not even when General Sherman, in his diplomatic bout with Breckinridge, was the party making a wrong move. But not to undertake to make a full delineation of the character of this remarkable man, I think it safe to say that history will in the end pronounce the judgment that the four eminent men who did most of all eminent men to save the republic were Abraham Lincoln, Edwin M. Stanton, U. S. Grant, and William T. Sherman. Of these, it would have been more difficult to find a substitute, in the midst of the war, for Mr. Stanton than for either of the others. It is almost impossible to conceive how the war of the revolution could have gone on to success without Washington, or how the war for the Union could have gone on to final triumph without Edwin M. Stanton.

GENERAL U. S. GRANT,

SECRETARY OF WAR AD INTERIM.

As we have seen in the sketch of Secretary Stanton General Grant was appointed Secretary of War *ad interim* during the suspension of the former from office. A brief account of the life of General Grant is, therefore, here in order.

Ulysses Simpson Grant was born in Clermont county, Ohio, April 27, 1822. He was graduated at West Point in the class of 1843 and was assigned to duty in the army as lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry. In 1846 he joined General Taylor on the Rio Grande, and participated in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey. The regiment joined the column under General Scott, and Lieutenant Grant participated in every battle of the remarkable campaign under Scott from the siege and capture of Vera Cruz to the final complete success at the city of Mexico. For gallant and meritorious conduct during the campaign with special mention of his behavior at Molinos del Rey and Chapultepec, Grant was brevetted first lieutenant and captain. After the war he served in Oregon. In 1853 he was promoted to a captaincy. In the following year he resigned, having served eleven years in the army.

The period in this now illustrious man's life between his resignation as Captain and his appointment as Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers at the beginning of the civil war, was of humdrum nature. He returned from Oregon to "the States," and settled down in civil life on a small farm not far from the city of St. Louis. He

was an industrious farmer, hard-working as any of his neighbors, and certainly in all respects as unpretending as any of them, but did not notably succeed in the calling. In 1859 he removed to Galena, Illinois, and in partnership with his father and a brother engaged in the leather business.

On the breaking out of the war, the distinguished Elihu B. Washburne, then representing the Galena district in Congress, earnestly recommended Captain Grant to Governor Yates as a thoroughly intelligent soldier and man of great energy, the result of which was that Grant was at once employed at the Governor's headquarters. He raised a regiment of volunteers, designated the Twenty-first Illinois, and was commissioned Colonel. His fine military knowledge and capacity in the organization of the Illinois troops soon brought him from President Lincoln a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers. In the autumn of 1861, General Grant assumed command of the district of Cairo, embracing southern Illinois and parts of Kentucky and Missouri. On November 8th, he attacked a considerable force of rebels at Belmont, a village in Missouri opposite Columbus, Kentucky. After a sharp battle the place was carried, both sides suffering considerably, but the enemy being heavily reënforced from Columbus, Grant was compelled to retreat. This movement he accomplished with success, leaving only a few badly wounded on the field. Both sides claimed a victory.

Early in the year 1862, Grant began that famous campaign which, embracing the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson with large numbers of men and immense store and the pitched battle of Shiloh,

made his name illustrious forever. For his conduct in the siege and capture of Fort Donelson he was commissioned major-general, to date from February 16, the day of the unconditional surrender. This great victory wonderfully invigorated the spirits of the Union people of the country. The battle of Shiloh, however, received no little unfavorable criticism on account of which for a time General Grant was under a shadow. The Union army was here surprised and on the first day of the battle was driven back and worsted until late in the afternoon. Then the tide turned, chiefly by reason of the magnificent fighting of General J. D. Webster, Grant's chief of artillery. He massed his guns on an eminence in rear of Pittsburgh Landing and by the "most terrific cannonading ever witnessed on this continent," first checked the enemy's impetuous advance and presently caused him to retire from much of the ground that he had won. In this crisis of the battle the gun-boat Tyler came to the aid of Webster, rendering the artillery on the land invaluable assistance. It will thus be seen that while the Unionists were worsted on the first day's fight, they were so far from being defeated that the tide of battle had visibly turned in their favor before night. General Buell largely reënforced Grant in the evening and the battle of Monday was a sweeping Union victory throughout. In this battle fell General Albert Sidney Johnston, a most gallant and capable soldier and noble man whose only fault was that in a mistaken sense of duty he drew his sword against his country.

The unfavorable opinion of General Grant which largely obtained for a time after Shiloh was gradually

dissipated as the real facts became known. After the battle Major-General Halleck for once went to the front, and Grant served under him in the slow operations against Corinth. In the autumn General Grant again had the principal command of what may conveniently be called the army of the South, and for a time had his headquarters at Jackson, West Tennessee. During this fall and winter several movements were undertaken against Vicksburgh, but they all failed. The entirely needless battle of Iuka was fought by Rosecrans in September, and the gallant defense of Corinth made by him in the following month. Near the close of the year, General Sherman was defeated at the battle of Chickasaw Bayou. In the spring of 1863 General Grant commenced the wonderful campaign of Vicksburgh. Marching around Vicksburgh through Louisiana, he crossed the Mississippi near Port Gibson, and defeating the enemy in general engagements at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, and Black River Bridge — a series of magnificent operations and combats in which Johnston and Pemberton were beaten in detail — before the close of May he had Pemberton closely besieged in Vicksburgh. On the 4th of July, Pemberton surrendered with his whole army and immense war material, and for the Union the Mississippi River flowed unvexed from its sources to the gulf. This is regarded by many writers of approved judgment as General Grant's most brilliant campaign. It cheered the Unionists wonderfully in all parts of the country; and their good spirits were greatly increased by intelligence of the cotemporaneous great victory of the Union army on the field of Gettysburgh. For

Vicksburgh Grant was commissioned a major-general in the United States army and voted the thanks of Congress and a gold medal.

But brilliant as was the campaign of Vicksburgh it was scarcely greater in the manifestation of military genius than the campaign of Chattanooga, the next great series of operations directed by General Grant. General Rosecrans had been defeated at the battle of Chickamauga. His army was saved from complete disaster by the firmness of General Thomas "who stood like a mountain of granite between the victorious enemy and Chattanooga." Secretary Stanton, energetically asseverating that Rosecrans had been needlessly "stampeded" at Chickamauga, demanded his displacement by Thomas. Accordingly Thomas assumed command of the Army of the Cumberland. Grant was appointed to the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, which embraced the departments of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, and of the Tennessee. He proceeded to Chattanooga, arriving October 23d. He reënforced the Army of the Cumberland with troops from the Army of the Potomac in the east and the Army of the Tennessee in the south-west; with these he raised the blockade of the line of communications with Chattanooga and brought an end to the era of gaunt famine by abundant supplies. On November 23d and 24th, he delivered battle. The series of engagements known as Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, Ringgold, and Knoxville were the armed conflicts of this campaign. The enemy were everywhere defeated with great loss of life and store and were driven out of Tennessee with their military power there hopelessly shattered. This

was the campaign which broke the back-bone of the rebellion and made the triumph of the Union cause a mere question of time. Added to his former achievements it placed General Grant at the head of the military profession. Congress not long afterwards created the rank of lieutenant-general, to which Grant was commissioned very early in March, 1864.

He then proceeded to Washington, being everywhere along the line of his journey received with universal *eclat*, and assumed command-in-chief of the armies of the United States and very soon the command in the field of the forces operating against the principal "Confederate" army under General Robert E. Lee. Of the great campaign of Richmond it is needless to speak, because its great movements, sieges, and battles are fresh in the memory of the people and form so conspicuous a part of our history that they must forever be quite familiarly known. Baffled here, baffled there by the astute General who opposed him and his army of brave, devoted followers, the persistent hard fighting of Grant at last completely pulverized the military power of the Confederacy and at Appomattox achieved a complete and glorious victory for the Union arms. The war was over; the Union was saved, and very largely, by universal agreement, through the incomparable military genius and undying pluck of General Grant.

After the war General Grant remained commander-in-chief of the army, headquarters at Washington. In July, 1866, the rank of full general was created and Grant appointed thereto. When appointed Secretary of War *ad interim* by President Johnson, he accepted the office with evident reluctance, but while

filling it he performed its duties well and in a fine spirit of independence as to the political imbroglio in which the administration had become involved.

In 1868, General Grant was nominated for President by the Republican national convention, and in November was elected by a large majority, defeating Horatio Seymour of New York. In 1872, he was renominated and again elected by a still larger majority, this time defeating the distinguished Horace Greeley who had been nominated by the "Liberal Republicans" and by the Democracy. It is yet too soon to judge with impartial fairness of the administration of President Grant. He has himself acknowledged that he made many mistakes, but it is perhaps true that these were as few as had been made by any of his predecessors. As a rule, they pertained to mere detail and will nearly all be forgotten in a short time. The next generation will care nothing at all about who held the offices in this. In his foreign policy, his Indian policy, his financial policy, he manifested high statesmanship. The administration which negotiated the treaty of Washington must be forever honored in our annals, whilst the messages of President Grant on financial subjects are models of wisdom and logic which it would be well for all people who think something can be made out of nothing to study. While there were many of our people who bitterly opposed President Grant, and especially criticised him for the choice of many friends who did him no honor, yet I think it is true that he left the presidency with the cordial respect of all his fair-minded countrymen as a man of perfect personal integrity, whose incomparable services in

the field and thoroughly patriotic services in council justly entitled him to the eternal gratitude of the republic.

Since his retirement General Grant has travelled abroad, in Europe, Egypt, and Asia. Pursuing his way unostentatiously he has nevertheless been everywhere received with distinguished consideration by the great and mighty and with right good will by the masses of the people, who, even those far up the Nile, know at least the outlines of his history and that he was largely instrumental in saving his country from disruption and ruin.

GENERAL J. M. SCHOFIELD,

TWENTY-EIGHTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JOHN McALLISTER SCHOFIELD was born in Chautauqua county, New York, September 29, 1831. He was the son of a clergyman who with his family removed to Bristol, Illinois, when the son who became so distinguished was still under twelve years of age. In 1849, at this time living in Freeport, Illinois, Schofield entered the Military Academy, and was graduated four years later being seventh in the class in general merit. Among his class-mates were Generals McPherson, Sheridan, now Lieutenant-General of the Army, Terrill, R. O. Tyler, and the dashing Confederate General J. B. Hood. After serving in the artillery for two years in South Carolina and Florida, Lieutenant Schofield was ordered to West Point as an instructor, and occupied the chair of an assistant professor until June, 1860, when he received leave of absence for one year that he might accept a professorship in Washington University, St. Louis. He was in this employment when the war broke out. In May, 1861, he was promoted to be captain of artillery in the Army, and about the same time was appointed a major in a Missouri regiment of volunteers. He assisted in the famous capture of Camp Jackson, St. Louis, on May 10th. Soon afterwards he became chief-of-staff to General Lyon, and continued in that employment till the death of the

General at the battle of Wilson's Creek. In this engagement Major Schofield behaved with uncommon gallantry and military efficiency. In October, he was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers, and assigned to a peculiar and difficult command, namely, that of about 10,000 Missouri State troops organized and to be organized for the defense of the State against domestic marauders and guerillas. In the duties of this singular command General Schofield was more successful than any one had a right to suppose he or any man would be. With his State troops he kept guerilla warfare within the narrowest limits, and was able to reënforce a more important theatre of the war with about 10,000 regular volunteers. Early in 1862, he was placed in command of the district of Missouri. General Samuel R. Curtis, commanding the "Army of the Southwest," having defeated the rebels at the battle of Pea Ridge, marched his army diagonally across Arkansas to Helena. In the summer and autumn of this year General Schofield organized the Army of the Frontier, with which he suppressed the guerilla warfare of south-western Missouri, and defeating Hindman in the sharp battle of Maysville, October 23, drove the last organized forces of Confederates in this part of the country beyond the Boston mountains and sent them whirling down the valley of the Arkansas.

On November 29th, Schofield was appointed a major-general of volunteers by President Lincoln. His straightforward administration of military affairs in the district of Missouri had made him many enemies among politicians and, though they were unable to have his nomination rejected by the Sen-

ate, they succeeded in having action on it postponed from time to time until the end of the session, March 3, 1863, when the commission expired. At his own request he was immediately relieved of the command in Missouri, and was ordered to report to General Rosecrans commanding the army of the Cumberland. By him Schofield was placed in command of the division of the Fourteenth Army Corps which had formerly been commanded by Thomas. But in a very few weeks President Lincoln reappointed Schofield a major-general of volunteers, and ordered him back to St. Louis to relieve General Curtis in command of the department of Missouri. Assuming the command early in May, General Schofield gave first attention to the reënforcement of Grant now inaugurating the grand campaign of Vicksburgh. General Frank J. Herron with a fine division of the Army of the Frontier — victors of the field of Prairie Grove — was promptly dispatched down the great river, only to be immediately followed by all other troops in the department of Missouri which were not absolutely essential to the simple defense of the command. I think Grant will agree that he never had a more generous and liberal reënforcer than Schofield. After the fall of Vicksburgh, General Schofield energetically occupied himself in repossessing Arkansas and in other general operations calculated to give the Unionists complete possession of all the States west of the Mississippi River. In the midst of these important duties, in January, 1864, he was relieved of command of the department by General Rosecrans. President Lincoln heartily sustained Schofield in his administration of

affairs, but yielded to the clamor of the politicians that the result might demonstrate its injustice. In a very short time the clamor against Rosecrans was vastly louder than it had ever been against Schofield, and he was in turn relieved by General G. M. Dodge.

Leaving this harassing command, General Schofield from this time onward until the close of the war had a sphere of duty in which strictly military operations were alone required of him and though many of these were difficult, some of momentous import, we shall see that he went through all with fine success and constantly increasing renown. On the 9th of February, 1864, General Schofield assumed command of the Army of the Ohio, headquarters at Knoxville, Tennessee. Throughout the whole campaign of Atlanta, one of the most brilliant and memorable in all the annals of warfare, General Schofield was conspicuous,— gallant and dashing, but cool as an icicle in battle, quick and wary and vigilant in manœuvres, at all times perfectly steady, as firm and valuable a support as General Sherman could have found had he searched the armies of the world. To relate the events of General Schofield's life at this period would be to relate good part of the operations and combats of General Sherman's army from the time it left Tennessee until the fall of Atlanta.

After Atlanta fell into General Sherman's hands the army pretty generally took a little rest. General Schofield proceeded to Knoxville to attend to certain matters of organization there. In the latter part of October he was ordered to join General Thomas, with the Army of the Ohio and an additional corps, and

assist in the defense of Tennessee against the expected invasion by Hood. Early in November, Schofield joined Thomas and instituted vigorous operations in middle Tennessee by taking strong positions far to the southward of Nashville, while Thomas was engaged strengthening his defenses and posting his reënforcements. Schofield delayed the advance of Hood's largely superior army as much as practicable, at the battle of Franklin, November 30, striking his enemy so terrible a blow that he recoiled before it, leaving Schofield ample time to put his army behind the works of Nashville without further molestation. The battle of Franklin was one of the cleanest and most effective drubbings of a superior by an inferior force that any one ever heard or read of. The bright visions of easy victory in which the enemy had indulged their fancy, of plundering Kentucky and thundering through the gates of Cincinnati vanished forever on the field of Franklin. In the great battle of Nashville, December 15 and 16, waited for with such sublime patience and so sublimely won by General Thomas, Schofield commanded the right wing and most prominently of all his lieutenants aided Thomas in winning his complete and momentous victory.

This was the last of General Schofield's military operations in the West during the war. Early in 1865 he was ordered to move to the East with the Twenty-third Army Corps. This movement, from Nashville to the Potomac was made in just a fortnight without the loss of a man or an animal. The General proceeded with his command to Wilmington, North Carolina, and thence marched inland to join

General Sherman at Goldsboro according to orders. Thither Schofield marched, heavily fighting at Kinston and elsewhere, always driving the enemy, and arrived at Goldsboro a short time before General Sherman. The war was soon afterwards brought to a close by the surrender of Lee to Grant and of Johnston to Sherman. Since the war, General Schofield has made a military tour of inspection through the South; was for a while in command of the first military district, embracing Virginia; and was later in command of the Department of Missouri. He was Secretary of War from the resignation of Mr. Stanton in May, 1868, until the appointment of General Rawlins by President Grant in March of the following year. He has also, I believe, since the war made the tour of Europe. He is now and has been for some time superintendent and commandant of the Military Academy at West Point, where, as in every public employment to which he has ever been called he performs his duties with an eye single to the public good. We may be sure, therefore, that he will continue to merit the favorable opinion of his countrymen and the good words of impartial history.

GENERAL J. A. RAWLINS,

TWENTY-NINTH SECRETARY OF WAR.

JOHN A. RAWLINS was born at Guilford, Illinois, February 13th, 1831. His father was in poor circumstances, unable to procure for him anything more than a very limited education, but he had a great love of reading which enabled him to acquire a large fund of information. It also prevented him from being radically damaged by ignorant and rough associates. He labored on a farm and at the hard work of coal-burning until he was about 23 years old when he determined that charcoal-making was not an employment calculated to develop his genius. The manner in which Rawlins emerged from the associations of his early life was exceedingly honorable to him. He went to Galena, there studied law with notable assiduity and was admitted to the bar in 1855. He soon had considerable prominence at the bar and a practice which gave sure promise of future eminence. Though in politics an ardent Democrat he heartily sustained the war for the Union. In September, 1861, he was appointed assistant-adjutant-general with the rank of captain and assigned to duty on the staff of General Grant. From this time forth until his death the history of the life of Rawlins is intimately associated with that of General Grant. For he was at the head of the General's staff during the whole of his illustrious military career until his chief

became President of the United States when Rawlins was assigned to the head of the War Department, remaining its Secretary until death closed his career, September 6th, 1869.

As a staff officer Rawlins was of the greatest service to the General and to the army. Headquarters were always in order and there was never any discourtesy. He always thoroughly understood all the details of the organization of the army and could answer any question with regard thereto with accuracy and in the fewest possible words. In a word, he was General Grant's right arm, constantly relied upon by him for relief from the study and direction of mere details. In such constant and invaluable duties as are here spoken of General Grant never relied upon his adjutant-general in vain. His services were ever duly appreciated and generously acknowledged. In August, 1863, Rawlins was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers and a brevet major-general early in 1865. In the spring of this year he was made chief-of-staff to the Lieutenant-General with the full rank of brigadier-general in the United States Army. And this commission was speedily followed by one appointing him a major-general.

As Secretary of War General Rawlins manifested fine capacity. The place was just suited to his genius. Unhappily, his health soon broke down, and he only had charge of the Department about six months. His early death was deeply deplored throughout the country and brought a feeling of personal sorrow to almost the entire army. It is sometimes greatly honorable to die poor, an honor fairly won by Secretary Rawlins.

GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN,

SECRETARY OF WAR AD INTERIM.

For some time before the death of Secretary Rawlins whose illness prevented him from attending the War Office, General Sherman performed the duties of Secretary and at length was formally designated as Secretary *ad interim.*

William Tecumseh Sherman was born in Lancaster county, Ohio, February 8, 1820, of excellent stock. His father was Charles R. Sherman, a noted lawyer, his mother, Mary Hoyt, and he was the sixth of a family of the orthodox number of eleven children. While William T. was but a lad his father died of cholera, and he was adopted as a son by the distinguished statesman Thomas Ewing, a neighbor of the family and a devoted friend to Charles R. Sherman. After receiving a good course of mental training in the schools of Mansfield, young Sherman was appointed a cadet to the Military Academy by Mr. Ewing at the time in Congress. He was graduated June 30, 1840. Among his classmates were George H. Thomas, Stewart Van Vliet, and Bushrod R. Johnson. After graduation he was appointed second lieutenant in the Third Artillery and served at various posts in Florida till March, 1842, when he was transferred to Fort Morgan, Mobile bay. Meantime he had been promoted to a first lieutenancy. Remaining only a few months at Morgan, he was ordered to Fort Moultrie, near Charleston. At this post he remained most of the time until the breaking out of

the Mexican war. Nevertheless, he was on several occasions ordered away on special service of important nature. On the breaking out of the war he was ordered to Pittsburgh on recruiting service. This business not being agreeable, he asked to be sent to the front. His repeated applications were at length complied with, and in July, 1846, he sailed for California by way of Cape Horn. The Lieutenant's anticipations of active service in the field were not realized, but being appointed acting assistant-adjutant-general in the military department under General Stephen W. Kearney, he so energetically and intelligently performed the duties thereof as to receive the hearty good will of the officers of the army on the Pacific coast. In 1850, the Lieutenant returned to "the States." He was soon afterwards appointed a commissary of subsistence with the rank of captain, at that time a high prize for a subaltern. He was immediately assigned to duty on the staff of the commanding officer of the military department of the West and stationed at St. Louis. In March, 1851, he was appointed and confirmed captain by brevet, to date from May 30, 1848, "for meritorious services in California during the war with Mexico." In September of the following year Captain Sherman resigned his commission in the army.

Soon after leaving the army Captain Sherman removed to San Francisco and for several years engaged in banking there. In 1857 he went to New York and engaged in the same business for a short period. In 1858—having meantime visited San Francisco and settled up the affairs of the old banking

house — he removed to Kansas, and engaged in the real estate and law business.[1]

In the following summer Captain Sherman returned to Ohio, but being soon afterwards appointed president and superintendent of a State military college just established in Louisiana proceeded thither to take charge of that institution. He conducted its affairs with great success until early in the year 1861, when, seeing the coming conflict of arms, he solemnly warned his Southern friends of the folly and madness of secession, resigned, and returned to his old home in Ohio.

About the time of the inauguration of President Lincoln he proceeded to Washington. He there gave out-spoken expression to his views on the magnitude of the coming conflict. They were perfectly prophetic but were regarded by the administration as visionary. In June he was appointed Colonel of the Thirteenth Infantry, and soon afterwards ordered to report to General McDowell, and assigned the command of a brigade in the division of General Daniel Tyler in the army slowly getting ready to move "on to Richmond." In the battle of Bull Run this brigade bore a conspicuous part, suffering heavy losses. On the 3d of August he was appointed a brigadier-general to date from May 17. Early in the following month he was ordered to report at Louisville to General Robert Anderson in command of the department of Kentucky. On account of ill health Anderson

[1] General Sherman's account of his life in California — his experience with the "Vigilance Committee," etc. — as given in his "Memoirs" is exceedingly interesting, as indeed is that whole work.

soon asked to be relieved, and General Sherman succeeded to the command October 7. He was presently visited by Secretary of War Cameron and Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas. The Secretary asked Sherman how many troops he would require in his department. He replied: "Sixty thousand to drive the enemy out of Kentucky; two hundred thousand to finish the war in this section." This was regarded as so extravagant that the newspapers began to say General Sherman had gone crazy! And, hence, on November 12 Sherman was relieved by Buell and ordered to report to General Halleck at St. Louis. By Halleck he was placed in command of Benton Barracks, a rendezvous for volunteers. In February he was ordered to Paducah to superintend the forwarding of supplies to the army under Grant. It appears that this officer did not think Sherman's case hopeless, and so, in March, on the organization of the Army of the Tennessee into six divisions, Sherman was placed in command of the fifth.

In the battle of Shiloh his division held the right of the Union line, and, singularly enough, the extreme left also, Stuart's brigade being detached and there posted. The division fought with great bravery and was handled with consummate skill. Only one brigade was badly handled. Sherman himself was self-poised and greatly energetic throughout. Severely wounded in the hand, having three horses shot under him the first day, again wounded in the second day's conflict, he yet seemed everywhere present, and was never for a moment discouraged. General Halleck a few days after the battle wrote from the battle-field: "It is the unanimous opinion here that Brigadier-

General W. T. Sherman saved the fortunes of the day on the 6th, and contributed largely to the glorious victory of the 7th." And then he respectfully recommended that he be promoted, to date from the 6th. General Grant in 1863 said that to the individual efforts of General Sherman he was indebted for success at the battle of Shiloh.

From this time forth until after the fall of Vicksburgh there was little rest for General Sherman or his command. In Halleck's slow and cautious march on Corinth the division had as active a part as any troops of the army. Whatever else may be thought of this slow march of Halleck's on Corinth, it taught the army the invaluable lesson of intrenching in the presence of an enemy. After evacuation by the rebels Sherman was busily engaged in collecting the *débris* and in restoring order. On the 1st of May he was commissioned a major-general of volunteers. "His services as division commander," said General Grant, "in the advance on Corinth, I will venture to say, were appreciated by the now general-in-chief [Halleck] beyond those of any other division commander."

The fall of Corinth was the realization of the repossession of West Tennessee to the Union. In the work of repairing railways and placing the country in a position of strength General Sherman did a great deal of hard work and hard marching. In the latter part of July he assumed command of the district of Memphis, establishing a vigorous but just government for the city and surrounding country. During the autumn he sent out several expeditions eastward and southward which accomplished valuable results.

Late in the fall he joined Grant in his movement on Granada, the well known issue of which was that without a battle Pemberton with a powerful army abandoned the line of the Tallahatchie and placed himself behind the works of Vicksburgh.

The most momentous event of the year, however, to General Sherman occurred just at its close and at the beginning of 1863. This was the attack on Vicksburgh by way of Chickasaw bluffs, and which is commonly called the "battle of Chickasaw Bayou." While Sherman moved down the Mississippi by transports, Grant marched by land with the object of assailing the stronghold in rear simultaneously with the assault by Chickasaw bayou. Of course success depended upon success in coöperation. The treacherous abandonment of Holly Springs with its immense store of supplies compelled the retreat of Grant, and, in military logic, the repulse of Sherman. But though the assault failed, and many valuable lives were lost, it was a brave, and heroic fight. After the assault, the army remained a short time near the scene of its disaster. Returning, the steamer "Tigress" was met at the mouth of the Yazoo, with General John A. McClernand on board, to whom General Sherman was ordered to report. The expedition against Arkansas Post, entirely planned by General Sherman, followed, and the capture of that strong work with many prisoners and large store, made something of a set-off against Chickasaw Bayou. In the capture of the fort and garrison General Sherman's command bore the brunt of the battle, and it was one of his generals — General S. G. Burbridge — who first entered the works.

The remainder of the year was big with events for General Sherman,— the great campaigns of Vicksburgh and of Chattanooga in which he bore so conspicuous a part. I can only relate so much of the outlines of these vast operations as will serve to exhibit the share therein of the subject of this sketch.

Early in the year 1863 the Army of the Tennessee had been divided into four separate army corps, the Thirteenth, General McClernand, the Fifteenth, General Sherman, the Sixteenth, General Hurlbut, and Seventeenth, General McPherson, all under the command of General Grant. In the preliminary and unsuccessful attempts to get at Vicksburgh by changing the course of the Mississippi River and by the left bank of the Yazoo, Sherman had his full share of hard work and unsuccess. His attempt, with the aid of the navy, to reach the Yazoo far northward of Vicksburgh by a series of bayous and creeks was one of the most curious and remarkable expeditions of the whole war. In the march on Vicksburgh, Sherman's corps had the rear and did not participate in all the battles of that stirring time. It fought, however, at Jackson, May 14, Blair's division at Champion Hills May 16, at Black River, and in the assaults of the 19th and 22d. During the siege the Corps held the right of our lines, but when General Joseph E. Johnston threatened to attack Grant in rear, Sherman, with portions of his own and other corps, was sent to take care of him. He did so so effectually that Johnston but once undertook to cross the Big Black, and then was driven back on the double-quick. On the fall of Vicksburgh, Sherman, reënforced by the Thirteenth Corps, Gen-

eral Ord now commanding, marched in pursuit of Johnston and caught him at Jackson, but well defended behind the strong works of that city. After heavy fighting, the place was regularly invested, but on the night of the 16th Johnston evacuated the city. He was vigorously pursued but without notable result.

In all these marches, battles, and sieges, the Fifteenth Corps had suffered heavily in casualties. It was entitled to a rest; and it took it in nearly the same position near the Big Black whence Sherman had "watched Joe Johnston." In the autumn General Sherman was ordered to reënforce Grant at Chattanooga. The march of the Fifteenth Corps thither, part of it fighting a good deal of the way, was a magnificent military achievement. In the battle of Chattanooga Sherman held the Union left where there was the most desperate fighting, his line now advancing, anon falling back, again driving the enemy, still again driven back, and yet again advancing, the vital point being always held with sublime tenacity, until Thomas pierced the less stoutly defended centre and the whole rebel line gave way in confusion and rout. Still there was no rest for Sherman and his corps. He instantly marched to the relief of Knoxville, and the simple report of his coming, with what had occurred at Chattanooga, sent the beleaguering army to the right-about and freed Tennessee of the presence of the last armed enemy of the Union.

After the Vicksburgh campaign Sherman had been commissioned a brigadier-general in the regular army. Early in 1864 he was appointed to the command of the military division of the Mississippi, which

substantially included about all the troops in the West. General Grant was about to take command in the East, and actually did so in March. In the spring Sherman entered upon his grand campaign of Atlanta; but so restless was his energy that between the close of the campaign of Chattanooga and the beginning of that of Atlanta, he performed a military operation which well deserves particular mention.

I refer to the Meridian expedition, often improperly called "the Meridian raid." This expedition had a great object in view, namely the permanent freedom of the commerce of the Mississippi. A lesser but still important object of it was the isolation of the State of Mississippi from the remainder of the "Confederacy." Both were accomplished. The expedition, consisting of two divisions of the Sixteenth Corps, General Hurlbut, two divisions of the Seventeenth, General McPherson, and a brigade of cavalry under Colonel E. F. Winslow, left Vicksburgh early in February, 1864. This considerable army drove, but without at any time generally engaging, a large force under Bishop-General Polk from Jackson to beyond Meridian near the eastern boundary of the State. In the various affairs that occurred the rebels were invariably compelled to retreat. Sherman returned without molestation to Vicksburgh, having freed the State of its only considerable force of the enemy, destroyed several hundred miles of railway with large numbers of bridges, many manufactures of arms and ammunition, and vast quantities of military stores. Throughout the entire expedition the army subsisted upon the country, thus learning a lesson which was later of great consequence.

Early in May General Sherman entered upon the campaign of Atlanta. His principal lieutenants in this masterly movement were General Thomas, commanding the Army of the Cumberland; General McPherson, the Army of the Tennessee; General Schofield, the Army of the Ohio; the whole numbering almost exactly 100,000 men of all arms. The different corps commanders were Generals J. D. Cox, O. O. Howard, John M. Palmer, Joseph Hooker, John A. Logan, G. M. Dodge, F. P. Blair, Jr., and among the division commanders were Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John W. Geary, Thomas J. Wood, A. S. Williams, Daniel Butterfield, John M. Corse, P. J. Osterhaus, T. E. G. Ransom, Morgan L. Smith, and other distinguished soldiers. The principal cavalry officers were Daniel McCook, Edward McCook, Kilpatrick, and Garrard. With this grand Army thus ably officered General Sherman marched against General Joseph E. Johnston, strongly intrenched at Dalton, in northern Georgia. By a series of skilful manœuvres on the part of Sherman, Johnston was forced to retire from Dalton on May 12. He halted at another strong hold, Resaca, but was compelled to retire therefrom on the 15th, after a general engagement in which he was defeated. In like manner he was driven from the strong position of Allatoona Pass after two engagements at Dallas, the former a drawn battle, the latter a decisive Union victory. On the 8th of June occurred the affair of Big Shanty, a victory for McPherson. By manœuvres and fightings, but without severe battles, Sherman had now driven Johnston from Dalton to Kenesaw mountain, a distance of nearly an hundred miles as the crow flies. The difficulties

of mountain ranges and of large rivers and many smaller streams had been overcome, the astute Confederate commander being everywhere forced from positions strong by nature and made stronger by art. All this had been done more by Sherman's remarkable manœuvres than by fighting. He now determined to fight and on the 27th assaulted the enemy's works on Kenesaw mountain. The assault was delivered with great spirit by Thomas and McPherson but was repulsed with heavy loss. After resting a few days, Sherman resorted again to his manœuvres, in consequence of which Johnston was soon forced to put himself beyond the Chattahoochie and on July 10 behind the works of Atlanta. To these strong works Sherman soon laid siege, but while his army was taking position it was vigorously assailed by Hood, who had succeeded Johnston, on the 21st and 22d of July, when occurred the Battle of Atlanta, a tremendous combat, with varying success at different times, but resulting in a complete victory for Sherman, and a loss to the enemy of not less than 20,000 men and great numbers of arms.[1] The siege proceeded vigorously with occasional engagements, in all which the rebels were repulsed. Presently, Sherman concluded to "flank" Hood out of Atlanta as he had flanked his predecessor out of the strongholds of northern and central Georgia. This remarkable

[1] For the great victory of Atlanta, too much credit cannot be given to Major-General John A. Logan of the Volunteers. On the death of General McPherson he assumed command of the army of the Tennessee, and riding among his men shouting "McPherson and Revenge," personally led them in a charge which left the field literally covered with rebel dead and wounded.

movement is thus described by a provincial historian:

"When General Sherman raised the siege of Atlanta, he played one of the sublimest games of logistics ever witnessed. It is perhaps true that in this branch of warfare General Sherman is the equal of any captain who ever lived. On this occasion his genius was splendidly illustrated. Taking his army in hand he moved one corps here, another there, another still in a different direction, so that the country round about Atlanta seemed to be alive with glistening bayonets. The dazzling array blinded our own troops, who, unacquainted with the secrets of headquarters, seemed lost in the bewildered maze of grand manœuvres which they were themselves performing. The various corps seemed to be all in motion without apparent object — crowding the roads, some moving rapidly, some more slowly, passing, repassing, and meeting each other, till the soldiers' minds were lost in amazement, and began to suspect that 'Old Tecumseh' had gone crazy after all! If his own troops were ignorant of his designs, it may readily be supposed the enemy was at fault. The rebels were indeed completely deceived. They believed the siege had been raised, and that Sherman had put himself in retreat northward. They rejoiced accordingly and had a grand ball.

'There was a sound of revelry by night,
And *Georgia's* capital had gathered then
Her beauty and her chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell.'

"But the gaiety of the military capital was interrupted speedily. It gave place to battle's magnificently-stern array. Sherman had indeed raised the siege, but only for the purpose of executing his designs in another mode. The result of the magnificent manœuvres of the 25th and the 26th was that the Twentieth Corps alone returned to our fortified lines on the Chattahoochie to cover the communications northward, while the main army, moving while the rebels danced, marched against the enemy's communications, and soon delivered battle at Jonesboro and Lovejoy. Atlanta

fell in consequence and the Twentieth Corps entered the city on the 2d of September."[1]

Thus was the first grand object in the campaign attained. The army now took a short rest. Ere long Hood undertook to destroy our line of communications, but after inflicting much damage was driven off. Sherman then made ready for the famous "March to the Sea."[2]

This march was begun early in November, when Sherman's army became "the lost army." Swinging away from its communications, it went out into the wilderness, no one for some time knowing where. Subsisting "liberally," to use General Sherman's own term in a general order, on the country, the army marched southward for awhile and then moved as directly as might be on Savannah. Fort McCallister being taken in a gallant assault by General Hazen, Sherman was able to present Savannah, with immense military stores and no end of cotton, as a Christmas present to President Lincoln. Remaining only about a fortnight in Savannah, General Sherman commenced his march through the Carolinas. He was not seriously checked anywhere but went "slashing" through the country pretty much at his own will. The battle of Bentonsville was about the only general engagement of the entire march. Here the rebels made a determined stand, and at first repulsed our troops engaged, but reënforcements coming up the enemy was driven from the field. This engagement, March

[1] Iowa and the Rebellion, pp. 265–66.

[2] The song so called, written by Captain J. M. Byers of an Iowa regiment, was very popular in the army and was sung in a Washington theatre on the night of President Lincoln's assassination.

21, was the last of Sherman's battles in the war for the Union. On April 13, in occupying Raleigh, he had but a slight skirmish with the rear guard of Johnston's retreating army. On the 18th — Lee having surrendered to Grant ten days before — Sherman made a truce with Johnston which was disapproved by the government. It was not allowed to stand, and in a few days Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the same terms under which Lee had surrendered to Grant.

About the time of the capture of Atlanta Sherman was commissioned a major-general in the regular army. In July, 1866, he was made lieutenant-general, Grant being created General. On the inauguration of Grant as President Sherman became General, being succeeded as lieutenant-general by the illustrious Sheridan. But while he was Lieutenant-General, Sherman made an extensive tour abroad, visiting Europe, Asia, and Africa, and being everywhere received with general *eclat.* Since his command-in-chief of the Army his headquarters have been at Washington — in the north-east room of the first story of the Department — except for a considerable period under Secretary Belknap's administration, when they were at St. Louis.

I suppose intelligent persons will agree that of all the great soldiers America has produced, General Sherman has shown the most brilliant military genius. In all the battles in which he was ever engaged he showed great capacity, coolness, fortitude. In his judgments of military situations at large he never made a mistake. In a wonderfully busy military career of nearly five years he lost two battles. In

military manœuvering — what military writers call logistics — no man but Hannibal ever surpassed him. In downright fighting his defense of the left wing at Chattanooga and his battle of Atlanta are safely comparable with the best battles of the most distinguished generals. His marches are unapproached in modern history. He cannot, perhaps, handle as many men on the field as General Grant — I doubt whether Grant ever had an equal in this respect — but as many as he can handle he can manœuvre with a consummate skill never surpassed.

In private life General Sherman is one of the most unostentatious of men. His perfect integrity is universally acknowledged. In conversation he is admirable, — full of varied information, anecdote, wit, and humor. He is an eloquent orator and one of the best and most powerful writers who have contributed to American literature. His "Memoirs," published in 1875, albeit too pugnacious in parts, make two as interesting and instructive volumes as our press has produced. In versatility of genius he stands unrivalled among American soldiers.

GENERAL WILLIAM W. BELKNAP,

THIRTIETH SECRETARY OF WAR.

WILLIAM WORTH BELKNAP was born in Newburgh, New York, September 22, 1829. He was the son of General William G. Belknap of the United States Army, distinguished in the Indian war in Florida and in the war with Mexico. He was conspicuous at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, and Buena Vista, being brevetted a brigadier-general for gallant and meritorious conduct in this last named battle. He gave his son William W. all the advantages of early tuition and collegiate education. He was graduated at Princeton College in 1848. He studied law at Georgetown, D. C., and removed to Keokuk, Iowa, where he entered upon the practice, forming a partnership with the Hon. R. P. Lowe, afterwards Governor, later Chief Justice of the State. Not long before the civil war Mr. Belknap was elected a member of the Iowa legislature and was recognized as one of the leading Democrats of that body, and a rising man in the State.

In the autumn of 1861 he began his military career, being appointed Major of the Fifteenth Iowa Infantry at that time being recruited. Major Belknap, a natural soldier, was assigned the duty of teaching the companies as they from time to time reached the rendezvous. Not till March, 1862, was the regiment mustered into the service. It soon proceeded by

steamer to St. Louis where it went into camp of instruction but was speedily ordered to the front. It arrived at Pittsburgh Landing on the morning of April 6th, the battle of Shiloh then raging furiously a few miles farther on. The command was immediately ordered to report to General B. M. Prentiss at the extreme front and then badly worsted. By the time the regiment reached the front Prentiss's division was pretty well pulverized, but these raw troops were placed in line and for awhile fought like veterans. At length ordered to retreat they fell back in confusion. In this engagement, Major Belknap fought with gallantry, was slightly wounded, and had his horse killed under him. He was also conspicuous at the battle of Corinth, where, being Lieutenant-Colonel, he commanded the regiment in the absence of its Colonel. Guard duties followed for a time. Early in 1863, Belknap was promoted to the colonelcy of the regiment. The principal operation in which the command took part this year was the siege of Vicksburgh. On the 8th of June, 1864, Colonel Belknap with his now veteran regiment joined the Seventeenth Corps at Ackworth, Georgia. In the entire Atlanta campaign the command bore a gallant, at times heroic part. In the terrible battle of Atlanta, July 22d, no one man won more honors than Colonel Belknap. His conduct was spoken of in the highest terms by his superior officers, and through newspaper correspondence became a topic of conversation everywhere in the country. Speaking of the promotions to the rank of brigadier-general made in his army for the Atlanta campaign up to this time — among them being that of Colonel

Belknap — General Sherman in his "Memoirs" says: "These were promptly appointed brigadier-generals, were already in command of brigades or divisions; and I doubt if eight promotions were ever made fairer, or were more honestly earned, during the whole war." Colonel Belknap, in command of two regiments, also fought handsomely at the battle of Ezra Church, July 28. On receiving his commission as brigadier-general he assumed command of "the Iowa Brigade" — four regiments from that State including the Fifteenth — and remained in command thereof or of the division of which it formed a part, until after the grand review in Washington before the final disbandment of the army. The grand operations of this part of General Belknap's military history were the famous "march to the sea," and the "slashing through the Carolinas." The last engagement in which his command took part was the affair of Pocataligo, South Carolina, in January, 1865, where Captain Kellogg of his staff was slain. The General's command was universally noticed for its soldierly appearance and fine marching in the grand review at Washington. The command soon afterwards proceeded to Louisville where the Seventeenth Army Corps closed its illustrious career, its last commanding officer being Major-General William W. Belknap.

After the close of his services in the army General Belknap spent a few months in Washington. He was then appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the first district of Iowa and remained in that office until his appointment as Secretary of War by President Grant in the autumn of 1869. He conducted the

affairs of the Department with great vigor and intelligence and was generally thought by the army and by the public having business with the Department to be thoroughly efficient and honest. Hundreds of millions of disbursements were made by the Department during his control of it without there being charge of the leakage of a single dollar. Indeed the only serious charge preferred against him until the unhappy close of the scene was the alleged sale of arms to France, which, whatever might be thought of the transaction in other respects, might have been a matter of considerable economy to our government. Early in March, 1876, the country was astounded by the intelligence that General Belknap had resigned, and was about to be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. Only a few months before he had been quite largely supported in the Iowa legislature for United States Senator, and until this time was generally supposed to be a thoroughly upright man. His impeachment by the House of Representatives for high crimes and misdemeanors in office, his trial by the Senate, and his acquittal — two-thirds not voting him guilty — are matters of too recent history in a time of high excitement to be yet considered with fairness and perfect impartiality. The friends of General Belknap assert that he was the victim of political intrigue; that he had to receive the fire, through a political necessity, of both the political parties, the Democrats assailing him as the necessary victim of alleged corruptions, and the Republicans assailing him as a scapegoat carrying off all the sins of the party to the wilderness! There might seem to be some truth in this. It is at any rate cer-

tain that the haste with which his impeachment was voted by the House of Representatives was indecent; and it will be difficult to find any argument by any Senator voting "guilty" in the impeachment trial which is not more of an argument in support of that Senator's purity than of Secretary Belknap's guilt. It is difficult to say which is entitled to the greater condemnation, the undisguised partisan rancor of Democrats or the ill-concealed partisan trepidation of the Republicans. But whatever may be the truth as to this alleged party necessity business as connected with the lamentable affair, it is certain that, except by ex-Senator Carpenter, the defense of General Belknap in the high court of impeachment was notably weak and fairly impotent. Portions of it were calculated, perhaps intended, to do the accused harm instead of good with his triers. Beyond these things it is asserted by the ex-Secretary's friends, that admitting the worst that was proved against him, he was more sinned against than sinning. Here, it is possible, may lie the truth. Devoted in his affections, warm in his friendships, he was influenced to do things that were wrong so far as friends were concerned, but innocent so far as he knew. When the crisis of his fate came he broke down before the knowledge of how ill he had been treated by many whom he had constantly served, and resigned when he ought to have held on and fought. But whatever the truth in regard to this most lamentable affair may be decided to be by impartial history, it is certain that General Belknap came out of the terrible ordeal with "troops of friends" still standing by him, notably old comrades in the army and those who were especially

familiar with his conduct of the general affairs of the War Department. These, with many public men of the highest standing, insist that he is a much abused man.

Since his retirement he has been engaged in the practice of his profession, mostly at Washington, though having his residence at Keokuk.

ALPHONSO TAFT,

THIRTY-FIRST SECRETARY OF WAR.

UPON the resignation of Secretary Belknap, March 2, 1876, the Honorable George M. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy, was designated by President Grant, under the law in such case made and provided, to perform for the time being the duties of Secretary of War. The portfolio was offered to the United States Senator Lot M. Morrill, of Maine, but upon consideration he declined to accept it. It was then offered to Honorable Alphonso Taft, of Ohio, who accepted the appointment.

Alphonso Taft was born in Townshend, Windham county, Vermont, November 5, 1810. His father was a man of high standing and large influence in the community, and was more than once elected to the State legislature, but he was not possessed of great worldly fortune. The son with whom we have to do had no little difficulty in procuring a liberal education, but by hard study during part of the year, and teaching during the remainder (he taught a school before he was seventeen years of age), he prepared himself mentally and financially for a college course. He was graduated with honor at Yale College in 1833. After he was graduated he taught a high school or academy at Ellington, Connecticut, for about two years, and then became a tutor in his *alma mater*, being engaged in that employment two years. Dur-

ing this time he pursued studies in law, the profession which he had determined to adopt, having also the advantage of the lectures of the Law College at Yale. He was admitted to the bar in 1838. In the following year he removed to the city of Cincinnati and there entered upon the practice.

At that time Cincinnati was a place of less than forty thousand inhabitants, but it had a distinguished bench and bar as well as a large society of cultivated persons which gave the city an intellectual standing which has hardly been surpassed in its long period of commercial greatness. At this time Burnet, Chase, Belamy Storer, Charles Hammond, John Brough, Nicholas Longworth (afterwards so celebrated as a wine merchant) and others no less noted were members of the Cincinnati bar. Messrs. Hammond and Brough were also the editors respectively of the Gazette and Enquirer newspapers, though I believe Mr. Brough did not engage in this employment until about the year 1845, Mr. Hammond having then been dead some four years. At this time Dr. Lyman Beecher was president of Lane Seminary, and his son-in-law, Calvin E. Stowe, was a professor therein. Mrs. Stowe, since so distinguished, was an occasional contributor to the journals and periodicals of the city. O. M. Mitchell was a professor in Cincinnati College. In a city of such notable minds as these Mr. Taft entered upon his professional career. He had fair success from the beginning; for he was well read in the law, industrious, conscientious, painstaking. He gradually rose to an eminent position at the bar. He was twice elected to the bench, once without any opposition

whatever. He was also once appointed to the bench by the Governor to fill a vacancy. While on the bench he was called upon to render a decision on a question of general interest to the people of the whole country, that of the reading of the Bible in the public schools. His decision in this case was characterized by a spirit of broad liberality and by a comprehensive statement of what he believed to be the true doctrine in the case which won him the cordial respect even of those who disagreed with him and the hearty admiration of all who believed there should be no religious teachings whatever in the public schools.

Judge Taft remained at the head of the War Office only about two months and a half, at the end of which time he was appointed Attorney-General, a position more suited to his genius and tastes. He remained in this office till the close of President Grant's administration, conducting its affairs with an ability and success universally recognized by the profession and by the country. Since his retirement from office, Judge Taft has been engaged in the practice in Cincinnati. He is not a man of brilliant intellectual powers, but of solid abilities and of perfect integrity.

HON. J. D. CAMERON,

THIRTY-SECOND SECRETARY OF WAR.

JAMES DONALD CAMERON, son of the Hon. Simon Cameron, was born at Middletown, Pennsylvania, in 1833. He received a classical education, spending some years at Princeton College. He then received a regular training in the business of banking, entering his father's bank at Middletown as a clerk and passing up by promotion to the position of cashier,—a position which had been filled for many years by his distinguished father. For several years the younger Cameron was president of the Northern Central Railroad company, and succeeded in making the railway whose affairs he directed a very valuable property. A man of fine business faculty he also engaged in other business transactions and speculations, and had amassed an independent fortune before he was forty years of age.

All this time Mr. Cameron took an active part in political affairs but did not seek, or want, any position for himself. His first prominent appearance in public was at the Republican National convention of 1860 when, as we have seen, his father was a candidate for the presidential nomination. On this occasion young Cameron won many friends among the representative men of his party as a sagacious politician and a man of uncommon energy.

In May, 1876, Mr. Cameron was appointed Secre-

tary of War by President Grant, in place of Mr. Taft, transferred to the office of Attorney-General. Before this, by the Republican convention of Pennsylvania he had been designated as chairman of the delegation to the national convention of the year. As is well known the convention was held at Cincinnati in June. Mr. Cameron took leave of absence for a few days and attended the convention. The convention was one of the largest and ablest political assemblages ever convened in America, and to its proceedings there attached an unusual and universal interest. No less than four of the eminent representative statesmen of the party in the nation were candidates for the chief magistracy, namely, James G. Blaine, Benjamin F. Bristow, Roscoe Conkling, and Oliver P. Morton. (To avoid any charge of partiality I place them in alphabetical order.) Governor R. B. Hayes, of Ohio, who in that office and from the hustings in this State had gained a very high and wide reputation, was also a candidate. Pennsylvania had instructed her delegation to support Governor John F. Hartranft, a man of recognized ability and integrity. On this occasion Pennsylvania certainly was "the keystone of the arch." Its delegation in a certain important sense was the undoubted master of the situation, and its chairman held in his hand the power to nominate the man who would likely be the next chief magistrate of the nation. The steadiness and coolness with which under these circumstances and at a time so exciting Mr. Cameron handled the delegation, and held it inflexibly to the fortunes of Governor Hartranft until the decisive moment, won for him the hearty admiration of the convention and

the plaudits of the public press quite generally. After Cincinnati he was universally recognized as an able man.

On entering upon his duties as Secretary of War — to which office, by the way, he had been appointed without the solicitation or even knowledge of his father — Mr. Cameron from the beginning manifested a knowledge of the affairs of the Department and a capacity to conduct them which were remarkable. In the large intercourse with public men which the position made necessary he made great numbers of influential friends and no enemies. Ex-President Grant always speaks in the highest terms of his great administrative capacity and of his inflexible integrity. He remained in office a few days after the accession of President Hayes when he voluntarily made way for Mr. McCrary. He was elected United States Senator to fill the unexpired term of his father who resigned about this time. In the Senate Mr. Cameron ranks well up among the men of influence, and occupies positions on several of the most important standing and select committees.

Mr. Cameron has been twice married, his present wife being a daughter of the Hon. Charles Sherman, of Ohio, and a niece to the General of the Army. In society and in his intercourse with friends he is perfectly unostentatious, genial, and good-humored. In politics he is radically Republican, and also an advocate of protective tariffs. He is noted for the firmness with which he stands by his principles and his friends.

HON. GEORGE W. McCRARY,

THIRTY-THIRD SECRETARY OF WAR.

GEORGE W. McCRARY, of Iowa, thirty-third Secretary of War, was born near Evansville, in the State of Indiana, August 29, 1835. His father was James McCrary, a hard-working farmer, his mother Matilda McCrary, *née* Forrest, a hard-working farmer's wife, of strong religious sentiment and devoted family attachments. The father is still living, a very aged, greatly respected man, in Van Buren county, Iowa, where the subject of this sketch passed his early days. The mother died in the summer of 1878. Her distinguished son, at the time in Boston engaged in the performance of official duties, hastened half way across the continent to attend her funeral.

Very soon after the birth of his son George W., James McCrary removed to McDonough county, Illinois. He remained there, however, only about one year, at the end of which time he removed some one hundred miles westward, and settled in what is now Van Buren county, Iowa, but which was then a part of the Territory of Wisconsin. At this time the principal settlements of what is now Iowa were at and near Dubuque, but immigration to considerable extent had begun to flow into the south-eastern portion of the Territory, notably at Burlington and Fort Madison, and in their vicinity. But of Van Buren county James McCrary was a pioneer among pio-

neers, being one of the very first settlers of that part of the country. Happily settlers came in rapidly, and by the time the boy McCrary had attained sufficient years to attend school, there was opportunity. Among the first things almost invariably done by a western settlement is to build a church and a schoolhouse.

There were two sides to the life of the boy and youth George W. McCrary, as there always are to the young lives of persons of unusual intellectual power. The life of a boy-pioneer is a hard life. The manual labor, during the greater part of the year, is constant and little better than drudgery. It is a coarse life. All the rough edges of existence abound on the frontier, and one will there usually look in vain for associations of refinement. In hard work McCrary passed his boyhood and early youth. This was his outer life. There was but one thing valuable about it. The labors, as directed by the judicious father, were such as to give to young McCrary's naturally strong physical constitution a fine development, resulting in robust health ever since and an uncommon capacity for intellectual work. The inner life of this youthful pioneer was, of course, of his own making mainly. He very early and easily acquired such rudiments of education as the common schools of the locality afforded. He then aided his intellectual growth by the reading of such books as he could obtain and of newspapers. But perhaps the greatest aid he received in his intellectual-moral discipline was that which came from his father and mother. James McCrary was a born gentleman; Matilda McCrary was a born lady. Indeed, without a substantial

natural basis, it is entirely beyond the power of any or all art to create either a gentleman or a lady in the true signification of the terms. The father taught his son lessons of manhood, of justice, of right, of generosity, and of courtesy. From the mother he received no less valuable instructions in these manly qualities, — for she was a woman of extraordinary intellectual power and wisdom, — with constant lessons, as agreeably as persuasively placed before his mind, with respect to personal rectitude, purity, the principles of morality, the doctrines of what she devotedly believed to be the divine system of the Christian religion. Thus by his own reflections, and with the aid of the invaluable lessons of his father and mother, George W. McCrary almost in the primeval wilderness of the far West grew up to be a youth, strong in intellect, wise beyond his years, firmly fixed in the principles and practices of morality. Without in the ordinary sense having received an education, he was educated. To this day he has no immoralities, no bad habits; and no intoxicating beverage of any kind nor tobacco in any form has ever touched his lips. Such was the intellectual and moral discipline young McCrary gave to himself and received from his parents. There may be a home education better than any other.

For some two or three years during his youth, however, McCrary had at considerable intervals the advantages of pursuing studies at an academy not very far from his home. Here he acquired a thorough English education and also pursued to considerable extent the higher branches of learning. His reading was extensive, careful, and mainly

of "solid" works of history, philosophy, and science. Then and ever since he has had very little taste for light literature. By the time he was nineteen years of age he had intellectual discipline and general knowledge much superior to those of most graduates of colleges, and a personal, moral character so firmly formed that he has never for an instant swerved from the right line of a perfect rectitude.

While at work on the farm in Van Buren county, young McCrary had often reflected upon what should be his future life. He finally determined that he would become a lawyer. This determination he carried out by going to Keokuk when he was between nineteen and twenty years of age, and entering the office of Rankin and Miller as a student. The junior member of this firm is the now famous Samuel F. Miller, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. McCrary applied himself closely to his studies and in 1856 was admitted to the bar, passing examination without making a mistake. He at once entered upon the practice at Keokuk and steadily rose to prominence.

About the time that McCrary reached his majority, the Republican party had become well organized in all the Northern States. Heartily sympathizing with the anti-slavery doctrines of this organization he joined the party and cast his first vote, in 1856, for Frémont and Dayton for President and Vice-President. From this time forth, young though he was, he took not only an active but a leading part in the politics of southeastern Iowa. In 1857 he was elected to the lower branch of the legislature, and though the youngest member of that body commanded large influence and

was generally consulted by the party leaders on all questions of party policy. The soundness of his judgment was universally recognized. Four years later he was elected to the upper branch of the legislature for four years, the sessions, however, being biennial only. In that body he undoubtedly exercised as much influence as any of its members.

These legislative services, highly useful and honorable though they were, still were Mr. McCrary's avocations; his vocation was the law. When not in the legislature he devoted himself with conscientiousness and zeal to the study and practice of law, his business all the time increasing. After the close of his senatorial term he gave almost his entire time to his profession and having gained a leading position at the bar, his professional successes were many and profitable.

In 1868, being then thirty-three years of age, Mr. McCrary was nominated for Congress by the Republicans of the first Iowa district. The incumbent at the time was the distinguished and able statesman, James F. Wilson, who had expressed his firm determination to retire to private life. The canvass was one of even unusual animation. Mr. McCrary made several speeches in every county of the district. At that time I was the correspondent in Iowa of a New York and of a Chicago daily journal, and it happened that I heard Mr. McCrary twice on the hustings. On either occasion he held a vast audience in closest attention for some two hours, but without a cheer or sign of applause till the close. He essayed no rhetorical flourishes, nor flight of eloquence, not even an anecdote; but the profound earnestness with which

he advocated his convictions, the wonderful strength of his argumentation, carried his audience with him in a most remarkable manner. His oratory did not at all make his audiences enthusiastic, but it persuaded and convinced them. It had singular power in augmenting Republican votes.

Mr. McCrary remained in Congress for eight years. Though one of the youngest of the members in years, his mature and unusual political sagacity was at once recognized, securing for him positions of influence. He was assigned to position on the committees on naval affairs, revision of the laws, and elections. He gradually rose to a leading position in the House. Becoming chairman of the committee on elections in the Forty-second Congress, he there manifested a sense of perfect justice, a spirit entirely unpartisan, and a knowledge of election laws and precedents so thorough and complete, that his reports came to be adopted almost as matters of course. For the first time in the history of Congress he induced the House of Representatives to vote upon election cases without regard to party lines; and a majority of the cases considered and reported by him were decided in favor of his political opponents. "Justice to the line, righteousness to the plummet" had been one of the lessons of his home education. In the Forty-third Congress, Mr. McCrary was made chairman of the committee on railways and canals, to which all questions relating to inter-state commerce, then receiving great attention, were referred. He prepared a report on the constitutional power of Congress to regulate railroad commerce among the States, taking the affirmative, and advocating his views with much

power. Accompanying the report was a bill, embodying in statutory form the principles of the report. It brought forth a long and able debate, Mr. McCrary advocating it with effect, and securing its passage by the House. It did not reach a vote in the Senate. During the first session of this Congress he gained a very remarkable, almost unique, victory in the House. His committee, he alone dissenting, reported a bill in favor of the Eads jetty system. After a long, able debate, Mr. McCrary defeated the bill by a majority of nearly twenty in the House. In an improved form it was passed at a subsequent session of Congress, Mr. McCrary not opposing. In the Forty-fourth Congress, in which the Democrats controlled the House, he was placed upon the judiciary committee. He prepared a bill to reörganize the judiciary of the United States, which the committee authorized him to report, and which he advocated on the floor. It passed the House by a large majority. The part borne by Mr. McCrary in the exciting presidential contest in Congress of 1876–77 is thus related by a biographer:

"After the presidential election of 1876, when it was seen that the country was about evenly divided in opinion as to the result of the contest, and that the two branches of Congress were sure to differ, not only as to that result but also as to the proper authority to decide it, George W. McCrary was the first to step forward with a proposition for the adoption of a lawful and peaceful solution of the difficulty. He proposed the Joint Committee, and was himself a leading member of it, taking an active part in the preparation of the electoral bill, and in its advocacy in the House. He believes, and most people will agree with him, that under all the circumstances this was a wise measure of statesmanship, which has given the country peace instead of turmoil, excitement, and perhaps civil war."[1]

[1] U. S. Biog. Dic., Iowa, 1878.

He was one of the Republican counsel of the House before the Commission and sustained the election of President Hayes in a legal argument of very extraordinary compactness and logical power.

President Hayes being duly inaugurated, Mr. McCrary was invited by him to take charge of the War Department. He has filled the office with intelligence and success. On occasions of difficulty he has been found equal to the emergency in every instance, while the vast amount of routine business is daily dispatched, the Secretary not allowing it under any circumstances to accumulate on his hands. I have spoken of his great interest in the affairs of the signal office.[1] He also takes a special interest in the labors of Colonel R. N. Scott and his assistants in arranging and printing the rebel archives and records in the control of the Department, and that important work is proceeding as expeditiously as the means devoted to the purpose by Congress will allow. The inestimable value of this vast mass of historical material is fully appreciated by the Secretary.

The domestic life of Mr. McCrary has been fortunate and happy. He was married in 1857 to Helen A. Gelatt, a lady possessing about all of the fine womanly instincts, and being specially remarkable for a spirit of independence which enables her to eschew the extremes of fashion and the extravagances of society with the greatest success and good humor. She has a strong mind, thoroughly disciplined by study and reading; is lively and witty in conversation, and is possessed of remarkable powers of satire. She is devoted to her family of five children

[1] *Ante*, p. 385.

with an enthusiastic devotion. She is an active Christian worker; but her deeds of charity, which are very many, as are those of her husband, are quietly done, rarely finding their way into the newspapers. In fine, she is an admirable type of the "home woman," her finest qualities shining ever most effulgent about the family hearth. She is a special favorite with Mrs. President Hayes, whose great and good womanly qualities all acknowledge. One of the happiest of American homes is the home of Secretary McCrary.

The genius of George W. McCrary is not at all brilliant. He has worked and won his way to high position and honorable renown aided by a rare combination of mental power and moral rectitude. His is a solid mind whose judgments are almost absolutely unerring, while his political sagacity and foresight are strongly developed. He is probably consulted more by members of the Republican party at the Capital than any other of our public men. While he always expresses his views with freedom and candor, he yet has the fine quality of reticence and never says what ought not to be said. The professional "interviewers" have never been able to make anything out of him whatever. During his long career in Congress he made many reports and many speeches on a great variety of subjects, all noted for more or less ability. He also took part in not a few running debates, and attained a position of commanding influence in the House. And all without making a single personal enemy. Some of his friends complain of him that he is not pugnacious enough, and sometimes loses a point that he might gain by a little downright fighting—a not unjust criticism, perhaps, though it should

be considered that he has not a drop of venom in his nature. In the long run his way is the way of most influence; and it is certain that no one of his co-members of Congress possessed more legislative influence than Mr. McCrary.

As a member of the cabinet of President Hayes, Secretary McCrary has been regarded by many as the representative man of what has been called "stalwart republicanism" by those who made the mistake of supposing that the republicanism of the President was not itself stalwart in the highest degree. But in this respect he is entitled to no more credit than several members of the cabinet, whose influence has all the while been exerted in behalf of the same general policy. It is, perhaps, true however that Secretary McCrary has had a wider correspondence with leading men of his party throughout the country, from which grew the opinion stated at the beginning of this paragraph.

Mr. McCrary, still (1879) on the sunny side of forty-five, has been in public, though not all the time official, life, provincial or national, for twenty-two years. At the bar of his State and in the Supreme Court of the United States, his great learning as a lawyer and his remarkable powers of logic have given him undisputed eminence as a jurist.[1] As an orator upon the hustings he is surpassed in rhetoric

[1] While Mr. McCrary was in Congress he prepared a work on the law of elections in the United States, of which a large edition has been exhausted. It is recognized as an authority in Congress and by the federal and State courts of the Union. In the "North American Review" for May, 1879, was an article from his pen entitled "Our Election Laws" which was very largely read.

and eloquence by many of his contemporaries, but by none in the power of persuading men by reasoning to adopt his principles and to accept his ideas. His oratory is weighty, ponderous, like his mind; and in the forums in which he has spoken no one has been able to answer his arguments. His latest essays in public oratory were a series of speeches in Iowa in 1878 which by general testimony made large numbers of Republican votes. They were much quoted by the metropolitan press — in many instances fully reported — and favorably criticised. It was observed that the manner of his delivery was dignified, impressive, and his voice clear, loud, and musical. In State and national legislation he has left the impress of his influence in many beneficent laws of which he is the author, just and wise reports, not a few measures of general policy. His influence with his party has always been exerted in behalf of the highest political morality and of absolute purity in the conduct of affairs. It is not strange, therefore, that among many of our most thoughtful citizens, Mr. McCrary is regarded as our steadiest, safest statesman.

As I have already intimated, the private life of this eminent man is pure and undefiled. He is respected and loved by all who know him. He never visits the handsome city of Keokuk without being met by an outpouring of the citizens, members of all parties, to give him welcome home. For a citizen of only forty-five years of age to have attained the national eminence as a jurist and statesman here indicated, and the devoted love and esteem of all his acquaintances of all ways of thinking, is a demonstration of intellectual force and moral integrity which all good men will be glad to recognize.

APPENDIX A.

Rosters of Several of the Staff Departments.

THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Surgeon-General.— Brigadier-General Joseph K. Barnes.

Assistant Surgeon-General.— Colonel Charles H. Crane.

Chief Medical Purveyor.— Colonel J. H. Baxter.

Surgeons.— Colonels Robert Murray; Charles Sutherland; John M. Cuyler; William J. Sloan.

Surgeons.— Lieutenant-Colonels William S. King; James Simons; Charles C. Keeney; John F. Head; John F. Hammond; Elisha I. Baily.

Assistant Medical Purveyors.— Lieutenant-Colonels George E. Cooper; Ebenezer Swift.

Surgeons.— Lieutenant-Colonels Glover Perin; John Campbell.

Surgeons.— Majors John E. Summers; Thomas A. McParlin; Joseph B. Brown; David L. Magruder; Charles Page; Basil Norris; Edward P. Vollum; John Moore; Andrew K. Smith; R. H. Alexander; Joseph R. Smith; John F. Randolph; Bernard J. D. Irwin; Anthony Heger; Charles T. Alexander; Bennett A. Clements; Joseph C. Baily; James C. McKee; Joseph H. Bill; Charles H. Alden; Warren Webster; Charles C. Byrne; Joseph P. Wright; Charles C. Gray; William C. Spencer; Francis L. Town; Dallas Bache; Blencowe E. Fryer; John H. Frantz; Charles E. Goddard; Charles B. White; George M. Sternberg; Joseph J. Woodward; William H. Forword; Ely McClellan; Samuel A. Storrow; William D. Wolverton; Albert Hartsuff; Charles R. Greenleaf; J. V. D. Middleton; John H. Janeway; Henry R. Tilton; Samuel M. Horton; J. C. G. Happersett; Alfred A. Woodhull; John S. Billings; William M. Notson; Joseph R. Gibson; D. L. Huntington; John W. Williams.

Assistant Surgeons.— Captains George P. Jaquett; William E. Waters; Justus M. Brown; V. Buren Hubbard; John W. Brewer; John Brooke; William H. Gardner; Harvey E. Brown; William E. Whitehead; Charles Smart; Elliott Cones; William F. Buchanan; Henry J. Phillips; John H. Kinsman; P. Middleton; George A. Otis; Henry McElderry; William S. Tremaine; Daniel G. Caldwell; Samuel S. Jessop; Edwin Bentley; Henry Lippincott; Morse K. Taylor; John H. Bartholf; Henry M. Cronkhite; Egon A. Koerper; Richard S. Vickery; Robert M. O'Reilly; Frank Meacham; Thomas F. Azpell; Charles L. Heizmann; Robert H. White; Calvin De Witt; J. Victor De Hanne; Carlos Carvallo; Alfred C. Girard; Joseph B. Girard; John V. Lauderdale; Benjamin F. Pope; James P. Kimball; Aug. A. Yeomans; Leonard Y. Loring; Arch. B. Campbell; William J. Wilson; J. A. Fitzgerald; Peter Moffatt; Charles Styer; Joseph H. T. King; Joseph K. Corson; Daniel Weisel; Peter J. A. Cleary; Julius H. Patzki; Frederick W. Elbrey; Washington Matthews; William R. Steinmetz; John D. Hall; Curtis E. Munn; Ezra Woodruff; Philip F. Harvey; William H. King; Stevens G. Cowdrey; John M. Dickson; Charles B. Byrne; Frank Reynolds; Clarence Ewen.

Assistant Surgeons.— First Lieutenants Charles K. Winne; Fred. C. Ainsworth; Valery Havard; John Van R. Hoff; Holmes O. Paulding; George W. Adair; Paul R. Brown; Edward B. Moseley; Bernard G. Semig; John O. Skinner; James A. Finley; Aug. A. De Loffre; Timothy E. Wilcox; Louis M. Maus; Blair D. Taylor; Curtis E. Price; James C. Worthington; Henry S. Turrill; Edward T. Comegys; Walter Reed; H. S. Kilbourne; James C. Merrill; William R. Hall; Richard Barnett; George H. Torney; Louis W. Crampton; Joseph Y. Porter; Marshall W. Wood; Marcus E. Taylor; William L. Newlands; J. De B. W. Gardiner; Robert E. Smith; William C. Shannon; Louis S. Tesson; William G. Spencer; Roland L. Rosson; Edwin F. Gardner; William H. Corbusier; James W. Buell; Robert W. Shufeldt; Daniel M. Appel; T. A. Cunningham; Harry O. Perley; Henry G. Burton; Samuel Q. Robinson; William B. Davis.

Medical Storekeepers.— Captains Henry Johnson; George T. Beall; Andrew V. Cherbonnier; F. O. Donnoghue.

THE PAY DEPARTMENT.

Paymaster-General.—Brigadier-General Benjamin Alvord.

Assistant Paymaster-Generals.—Colonels Nathan W. Brown; Daniel McClure.

Deputy Paymaster-Generals.—Lieutenant-Colonels Franklin E. Hunt; Henry Prince.

Paymasters.—Majors Samuel Woods; George L. Febiger; Henry C. Pratt; Simon Smith; Charles T. Larned; Rodney Smith; Joseph H. Eaton; James B. M. Potter; Wm. A. Rucker; Wm. H. Johnston; Wm. R. Gibson; Charles J. Sprague; Wm. B. Rochester; Henry B. Reese; Nicholas Vedder; Edwin D. Judd; William Smith; Charles M. Terrell; Thad. H. Stanton; George E. Glenn; Robert D. Clarke; James H. Nelson; Chas. W. Wingard; James P. Canby; Peter P. G. Hall; George W. Candee; Edmund H. Brooke; Israel O. Dewey; Asa B. Carey; Wm. P. Gould; David Taylor; Frank Bridgman; Frank M. Coxe; Alfred E. Bates; John P. Willard; Charles I. Wilson; Wm. H. Eckels; John E. Blaine; James R. Roche; Albert S. Towar; Reginald H. Towler; T. T. Thornburgh; Wm. M. Maynadier; Josiah A. Brodhead; William Arthur; James R. Wasson; Alexander Sharp; John B. Keefer; Culver C. Sniffen; Joseph W. Wham; Thos. C. H. Smith.

CORPS OF ENGINEERS.

Chief of Engineers.—Brigadier-General A. A. Humphreys.

Colonels John G. Barnard; Henry W. Benham; John N. Macomb; James H. Simpson; Israel C. Woodruff; Zealous B. Tower.

Lieutenant-Colonels Horatio G. Wright; John Newton; George Thom; Barton S. Alexander; William F. Raynolds; Charles S. Stewart; Charles E. Blunt; James C. Duane; Robert S. Williamson; Quincy A. Gillmore; Thomas L. Casey; Nathaniel Michler.

Majors John G. Parke; Gouv'r. K. Warren; George H. Mendell; Henry L. Abbot; William P. Craighill; Cyrus B. Comstock; Godfrey Weitzel; Orlando M. Poe; David C. Houston;

George H. Elliott; Henry M. Robert; William E. Merrill; Walter McFarland; Orville E. Babcock; John M. Wilson; Franklin Harwood; John W. Barlow; Peter C. Hains; Francis U. Farquhar; George L. Gillespie; Charles R. Suter; Jared A. Smith; Samuel M. Mansfield; William J. Twining.

Captains William R. King; Wm. H. H. Benyaurd; Charles W. Howell; Garrett J. Lydecker; Amos Stickney; James W. Cuyler; Alex'r. MacKenzie; Oswald H. Ernst; David P. Heap; William Ludlow; Charles B. Phillips; William A. Jones; Andrew N. Damrell; Charles J. Allen; Charles W. Raymond; Lewis C. Overman; Alexander M. Miller; Michah R. Brown; Milton B. Adams; William R. Livermore; William H. Heuer; William S. Stanton; A. Nisbet Lee; Thomas H. Handbury; James C. Post; James F. Gregory; Henry M. Adams; James Mercur; Charles E. L. B. Davis; Benjamin D. Greene.

First Lieutenants George M. Wheeler; James B. Quinn; Dan. W. Lockwood; Ernest H. Ruffner; John C. Mallery; Clinton B. Sears; Thomas Turtle; Edward Maguire; Frederick A. Mahan; Charles F. Powell; Fred'k. A. Hinman; Albert H. Payson; John G. D. Knight; Richard L. Hoxie; Edgar W. Bass; William L. Marshall; Joseph H. Willard; Eric Bergland; Samuel E. Tillman; Philip M. Price; Francis V. Greene; Carl F. Palfrey; William H. Bixby; Henry S. Taber; William T. Rossell; Thomas N. Bailey.

Second Lieutenants Thomas W. Symons; Smith S. Leach; Dan. C. Kingman; Eugene Griffin; Willard Young; William M. Black; Walter L. Fisk; Solomon W. Roessler.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

Chief of Ordnance.— Brigadier-General Stephen V. Benét.

Colonels Peter V. Hagner; Frank D. Callender; Theo. T. S. Laidley.

Lieutenant-Colonels James G. Benton; John McNutt; Julian McAllister; Silas Crispin.

Majors John W. Todd; Thos. J. Treadwell; Thomas G. Baylor; James M. Whittemore; A. R. Buffington; Daniel W. Flagler; Alfred Mordecai; Stephen C. Lyford; Francis H. Parker; Joseph P. Farley.

Captains Lawrence S. Babbitt; Wm. A. Marye; Isaac Arnold; James H. Rollins; Clifton Comly; John R. McGinness; Geo. W. McKee; Frank H. Phipps; James W. Reilly; George D. Ramsay, Jr.; John A. Kress; Otho E. Michaelis; Wm. Prince; Clarence E. Dutton; John G. Butler; Cullen Bryant; Martin L. Poland; Almon L. Varney; Joseph C. Clifford; Edward M. Wright.

First Lieutenants John E. Greer; John Pitman; Charles Shaler; Henry Metcalfe; Wm. S. Starring; Charles S. Smith; Stanhope E. Blunt; Frank Heath; Daniel M. Taylor; David A. Lyle; James Rockwell Jr.; William B. Weir; James C. Ayers; Marcus W. Lyon; Charles W. Whipple; Andrew H. Russell.

Ordnance Storekeepers.—Captains Edward Ingersoll; Wm. R. Shoemaker; Benj. H. Gilbreth; Eph'm. D. Ellsworth; William Adams; A. S. M. Morgan; Wm. H. Rexford; Frederick Whyte; Daniel J. Young; Michael J. Grealish.

APPENDIX B.

Aggregate Strength of the United States Army at Different Times.

Year.	No. of Officers.	Grand Aggregate.
1790	57	1,273
1800	296	4,166
1810	744	9,921
1820	722	12,431
1830	542	6,184
1840	735	12,539
1848	2,865	47,150
1850	884	10,315
1860	1,083	12,931
1861, July 1	——	186,751
1862, January 1	——	575,917
1862, March 31	——	637,126
1863, January 1	——	918,181
1864, January 1	——	860,737
1865, January 1	——	959,460
1865, March 31	——	980,086
1865, May 1	——	1,000,516
1869	2,988	52,935
1871	2,694	35,353
1877, October	2,151	27,470

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